

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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TO OUR READERS.

THE first number of the Third Series of the DUBLIN REVIEW is offered to our subscribers and to the public with much diffidence. The difficulties in the way of a Quarterly Journal are many. News, in these days, accumulates so fast, and every topic is written on so quickly and so completely, that an organ which breaks silence only once in three months is forced to pass by many things, and to occupy itself rather with expositions of principle than with reviews of books or occurrences. In the early days of the *Edinburgh* one book of travels, one novel, one edition of a classic, or one essay in politics or economy, was almost all that the quarter brought forth, and the reviewer had ample time to tell an expectant public what to think of it before their attention was distracted by another. In those days the political writer who scourged or encouraged the ministry, though his intelligence might be a week or so behind London, was fairly safe that no unexpected victory or revolution would be reported in time to make old news of his speculations. Now, books, and able books, are as a deluge, and politics like an entertainment of dissolving views. A Catholic quarterly journal has these difficulties, with others that are its own. Our public is small and our chances of writers are restricted. Besides, in every branch of literature, science and art, there is competition, and our competitors are specialists who can naturally offer their readers the very best that is to be had.

Even under these circumstances, however, a Catholic Quarterly is wanted, and is likely to succeed.

The office of a Quarterly at the present day is to take *wider* views than the other periodicals—to point out the tendencies of streams of thought, to sum up on large statements of fact

and opinion, to draw lessons from the remote past and the recent past, and above all to keep in the sight of the intelligent public those deeper principles of speculative and practical truth which the dust and the noise of contemporary progress are apt to obscure. No thinkers, or body of thinkers, can do these things so well by many degrees as those who have the light of God's revelation as guarded and interpreted by the Catholic Church. It is the office, then, of a Catholic Quarterly to urge on the world the "Catholic view."

This it will do, sometimes by direct controversy, often by direct and positive exposition of Catholic principle, but most frequently by infusing the spirit of its guiding faith into literature, history, politics, and art. It will not, certainly, aspire to the office of a preacher; and, so far as it teaches, it will first be taught. Its greatest pride and dignity will be to understand and set forth the spirit of the authoritative teaching of the Holy See. Those who seek current news, or the lighter forms of literary amusement, will not find them in its pages. At the same time, although there is not one subject of intellectual exercise which has not, or ought not to have, points in which it touches the revelation of God, our readers need not fear that they will be importuned with religion; that would only defeat our principal end.

The number of the DUBLIN REVIEW which is now published is, in some respects, tentative and provisional. A change of management involves the breaking of many ties, and new associates have to be sought in the place of those who depart. Yet it is hoped the REVIEW may continue to live with a vigorous and fruitful life. The list of eminent Catholics, at home and abroad, who have promised to assist, shows that our readers may expect in our pages, as the quarters succeed one another, learning, piety, literary power, classical proficiency, and scientific eminence. And there is one announcement which we make with especial satisfaction. Dr. W. G. Ward, whose metaphysical papers against the prevalent scepticism and agnosticism have already won the admiration of his most distinguished opponents, but who has been for some time too unwell to continue them, now hopes that his health may allow him to devote himself afresh to the arduous labour they involve; and it is probable that our April number may contain a new contribution from his pen, on the grounds of knowledge and certainty.

ART. I.—CATHOLICISM AND CULTURE.

1. *Exposition du Dogme Catholique.* Existence et personne de Jésus-Christ. Par le T. R. P. Monsabré, des frères prêcheurs. Carême 1878. Paris ; E. Baltenweck : 1878.
2. *La Haute Education Intellectuelle.* Par Mgr. Felix Dupanloup. Paris ; Douniol : 1866.

IT is frequently heard, as a reproach to Catholicism, that Catholics prefer religious expediency to truth. We are told that we do not love truth for its own sake, and that we are ready to sacrifice truth to our views of what is good for us. We are said to display unholy activity in discouraging research and extinguishing wholesome light, fearing that light and investigation may be fatal to our dogmatic teaching. Put in this way the accusation is a sample of a familiar fallacy. Catholicism discourages and tries to obscure many things that are physically true. Facts, relations, or laws are often distracting, irrelevant and occasions of stumbling. But Catholicism holds most clearly that her own ideals and means are most true, and only desirable because true. We maintain that religious expediency is truth, but not that every wandering truth is religiously expedient.

Still, if we substitute the term knowledge for truth, it may be readily admitted that one great difference between Catholicism and the prevailing rationalism is that we discourage the love of knowledge merely for the sake of knowledge. Our theory undoubtedly is that we do not live only in order to know more and more. We hold it to be as absurd to say that a man lives to know, as to say that he lives to feel. Knowledge must be for a purpose ; and that purpose, or end, is our whole being's end ; and this is the ultimate possession or fruition of the one Infinite Being—a possession which depends on a number of concurrent conditions, into the consideration of which we need not enter here. This explains the coldness of ecclesiastical authority towards mere facts and discoveries. The Church does not expect any very important assistance from the progress of science ; and on the other hand there are two serious considerations : one is, that fact seldom appears in plain and unvarnished shape, but is generally accompanied by a commentary possibly very misleading. The other is, that although facts and discoveries, if real, are real truths and cannot damage Revelation, still they may seem to do so for a long time, and to many

minds; and they are, therefore, stumblingblocks in the paths of many. There is no need to dwell here on the so-called conflict between faith and science. In one sense, in the most important sense, the conflict must be continual, and can only end when science is "destroyed," and faith becomes vision. But what may profitably be pointed out is, that there is a science of things revealed as well as a science of fact and natural law. Revelation—or, in other words, Catholic truth—is not a monument of squared stones, marking with forbidding dumbness the burying-place of human aspiration, but rather a lofty column, covered to the very base with speaking symbols; symbols which are not to be understood in their full meaning without zeal and toil, but which have hidden in their pregnant treasures more than all the centuries will be likely to analyse and to make their own.

The Catholic view, then, is that men who have leisure and capacity to take in a very wide circle of knowledge may be safely trusted to do so. With them, other things being propitious, view would correct view and fact would supplement fact, and they would see as a whole that which has no full meaning except as a whole. But with most men—men who are busy, unintellectual, uncultured, short-lived at the best—two measures of precaution have to be taken; first, they must be kept from "knowledge" that is likely to do them hurt; secondly, they must be persuaded to understand, penetrate and vivify to their thought the "knowledge" which is for their healing and their saving. To tell the truth, the former precaution, though it has been productive of much good to the simple masses of Christian people in many centuries, is of little use with even ordinarily educated people when taken without the latter. Those who think and read at all, even if they only read their newspaper and think second-hand thought, must have some field for their thought. If the mind moves at all, it must go from idea to idea, from judgment to judgment; and therefore it is not enough, especially (as it need hardly be pointed out) in our own day, to present the faithful Catholic with a short catechism, and then to burn his bad books and forbid him to take in his rationalistic newspaper. If he is shut out from the gardens of Armida, he must have groves of his own to wander in. If he is warned away from the camp of the devil he must be made free of the City of God. In a word, if he is prevented from perilling his soul by "Culture," falsely so called, he must be made a cultured Catholic.

Culture means the stimulation of mental faculty to results; those results being chiefly the accumulated stores which the mind secretes in its own hiding-places, and its own ever increasing

strength and suppleness. Culture may mean either such mental stimulation merely; or its results in mental capacity; or its results in width of experience and view; or, lastly, its results in external action. Adequately taken, it means all these things together, and any distinction which may present itself in the course of these remarks can easily be made at the moment. Culture, then, is as various as our faculties are various. There is intellectual, moral and spiritual culture. There is scientific, philosophical, linguistic, musical culture. Culture is widely applied by the popular voice to many branches of education and many forms of result which are as dependent on the muscles and nerves of the body as on the mind. A "cultured" man is one who, to external refinement, adds one or two accomplishments, is elegant of speech, knows something of the newest and the oldest books, and formulates, with an air of superiority, opinions which are just above the level of commonplace. With such "partial" Culture there is here no concern. The kind of Culture to be spoken of is Catholic Culture.

Catholic Culture, then, can only mean mental strength and wide views on the principal matters of revelation.

Putting aside, for the moment, all consideration of mental strength, let us understand what is meant by width of view in matters of religion.

Width of view, in matters of thought, means completeness of analysis. The difference between a mind which merely embraces an idea or term, and a mind which analyses that term, is like the difference between the uninstructed star-gazer who looks at a white spot in the midnight sky, and the skilled astronomer who, with keen glass, resolves it into a thousand starry worlds. Every idea can be "analysed;" that is, a thousand other ideas can be applied to it, and, in its turn, it can be predicated of a thousand. The manuals of logic talk of "comprehension" and "extension," of depth and breadth. A notion is as "deep" as all the notions your penetration can see within it; it is as broad as the breadth of all the notions you can gather together and place side by side with it. If you cannot penetrate it at all, or mentally make out some joint or suture; if you cannot marshal some second coin of the brain and compare the two, then your idea is not an idea, but only a word—an airy breath, or a mark on the paper. So far as you penetrate and compare, so far you know. It is the same with every kind of notion—with names of people and of places, with matters of fact, with scientific statements, and with philosophical and theological truths. My knowledge of Alexander or of Cromwell is just so much as I can affirm of either under the various heads of birth, training, exploits, morality, and the

rest. London, Vienna, San Francisco, Tadmor of the desert, each is no more to me than the sum of what I can say about its situation, streets, buildings, character, population. When some one tells me that a terrible explosion has happened, and six hundred miners have been killed by fiery gas or choke-damp, my "knowledge" of that catastrophe is measured by the minuteness with which I can mentally characterize such notions as those in which the tale is worded. Probably the narrator's knowledge is very different from mine; probably no two persons who hear or tell the tale have the same scene in their thoughts; and one is deeply moved, whilst another, in the common phrase, does not "realize" it. No one who has taken the trouble to think earnestly on matters of science but is aware how quickly analysis or comparison comes to an end, and how limited, therefore, knowledge is shown to be. For one's knowledge of hydrogen, or of nitro-glycerine, or of a torpedo, is no more than one can affirm or deny of each. But it is in matters of abstract thought, and in those truths of natural and revealed religion which are expressed in philosophic terms, that the identity of mental analysis and of adequate mental grasp is most strikingly seen. Here the imagination, or the picture-forming power, is not so ready or so useful; and a man who may think he knows Paris because he has a rough map of Paris in his brain, may feel a painful blank on the subject of "eternal life" because it refuses to be mapped. The mapping out of abstract and spiritual conceptions is done in higher regions and in thinner air. The lines seem to come and go, the shadows alter, the colours die out and revive again, the hollows and the hills change places, as we try to fix the thing which seems to be within our grasp. Terms like "substance," "person," "essence," "existence," "relation," "matter," "spirit," are seen by many minds only as ships at sea are seen by gleams of summer lightning. They do not stop to be studied—and what is attained by the flash of intuition fades from the mind before a second revelation comes. Yet it is in this thickly-peopled darkness of knowable things that the mind of the true thinker learns to see. Light is at hand for those who wait for light. Whilst ordinary minds are content with names and terms, real thinkers look steadily till they can see things; that is, they look and study until they have made out the parts, the relationships, the influences and the ancestry of the obscure notions which fill the region just beyond the reach of their fleshly eyes and ears. And whilst they make many discoveries, or rather inform their faculties with the reflection of widely extended reality, they make one discovery which lifts them higher than any other. They discover the astounding

depth of the realms they have undertaken to explore. All the light they can attain seems never to reach any confine or touch any boundary. No notion is capable of being adequately analysed. It is not that the mind is stopped as by a wall. It is, that seeming barriers vanish only too completely, and where the mind expected a resting-place it finds a long-drawn vista or a sheer descent. Thought hangs on to thought, divisions discover themselves in every division, cause rises behind cause, and there seems to be no resting-place where the onward travelling mind of man can stop and say it is finished. Nor is there any. There are limits beyond which, for practical purposes, it is unnecessary to go. But such limits are no true limits. And there is a limit dimly seen in the hazy distance—that infinite, absolute and eternal, which is always reflected in the limited and contingent things whereon the mind of man spends itself, but never satisfies itself. But this is no true limit, either. It cannot be reached, however long the time may be. It may grow brighter and larger, and its power may come to be so great as to make a thousand notions clear by penetrating them through and through with a light which shall supersede our laborious analysis; but there is no fear of the exhaustion of the knowable, because there is no possibility of reaching the infinite, and the thought which brightens the labours of the Christian thinker is, that the very fact of his failing to hold any idea whatever with a grasp completely adequate is a proof that his intellectual rest will be in the contemplation of the Infinite, and can be in nothing less.)

The terms and the formulas of the Christian revelation, as they lie in the Holy Scriptures, were intended to be the food of man's soul to the end of time. They were not meant to be unfruitful symbols which, by degrees, would be laid up with reverence in the sanctuary of a temple, like the mummy of a bygone prophet, to be forgotten by the living world. They were meant to be broken up—but broken up as flowers break their sheath—only to reveal that which lay folded within them. Beside the "deposit" there were to stand the infallible Church and the infallible Pontiff. Under their divinely-protected leading the mind of man was to develop the theology and the spiritual science of the revelation of Jesus Christ. Nothing can better name the process of analysis than those four words of S. Paul, where he prays that the converts of Ephesus may come to understand with all the saints what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth. Every formula in the New Testament speedily began to be analysed, many of them even in the New Testament itself. What was the extent and the explicitness of Catholic dogma as it was conceived in the minds

of the Apostles, taught by Jesus and by His Holy Spirit, we are not here called upon to inquire. For the Christian Church at large, there was to be a continual progress of explanation and explication. But even this assertion is not here precisely our purpose. The development of dogma is a very large subject which must be treated, if treated at all, with great precision and with full illustration. What is here insisted upon is, that the Catholic formularies hold within them light and knowledge which might form, and should form, a great part of the education of every mind, in every generation. We, like our earliest forefathers, repeat with reverence, that "the Word was made flesh." Whatever it was to them—and to them it was full of light—to us it holds a treasure of truth which we might well spend a lifetime in drawing out. From other articles of Divine teaching we learn something of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. This sacred formulary opens three paths of luminous thought. There is, first, the consideration of how such a change affected the Word Himself—and the conclusion that whilst He touched and closely embraced the human nature, His divinity remained unaltered, whilst He acted as a man, and He was a man, and human acts were predicated of Him. There is, secondly, the wondering effort of the thought to trace the manner in which this ineffable union came about. And there is, thirdly, the theology of that holy human nature which was taken up; the drawing out of the glories of the human soul, the perfection of the human body, the tenderness of the human heart. Under all these heads there are many chapters for theologians to write out with slow meditation, and for ascetical hearts to ponder on with fruitful love. A large number of the deepest matters enter into the discussion of the mystery of the Incarnation; the Infinite, the possibility and mode of its union with the finite; the body and soul of man, and what they lose and gain when a divine Person owns them; the freedom of the human will, and its compatibility with the beatific vision; the wide subject of sin, and how God forgives sin, and how man may satisfy for sin; and many mysteries of love, of suffering, of beauteous example, and of imitation. In a similar manner might be drawn out the heads of far-reaching analysis of such subjects as eternal life, the promised vision of the Godhead, human sanctification by God's Spirit, the existence of our Lord in the sacramental state. As a fact, it has been the case that all these subjects have been thought out elaborately at one time or another in the Church by men who are called Theologians; and even the saunterer in libraries, and much more the student of books, and most of all the devotee of sacred science, well know the ranks of imperishable volumes, standing silent as

monuments and full as granaries of Egypt after years of plenty, in which immortal names have stored the treasures of laborious lives. And it stands to reason that if the matter of Catholic Revelation consists of fundamental subjects of human thought (—and even the most fundamental of all ideas, if not Theology proper, are intimately connected with Theology—) there can be no practicable limit to the inquiries of the mind on Revelation; and further, that there can be no Culture worthy the name which does not mean a widely extended acquaintance with Theology.

There may be some who will refuse to admit that Catholic Culture is nearly the same thing as the cultivation of Theology. Theology, they will say, is for our pastors and our teachers; it is taught in a learned language, and its terminology is scientific and difficult. Surely we may be cultured Catholics without having followed the classes of a seminary.

To study Theology as a technical science may be profitable and it may be unprofitable; it is necessary for some, unnecessary for others. To read it in a Latin manual may be useful or the reverse. But there is only one thing which is substantially Theology, and that is the orderly exposition of the truths of Divine Revelation; and there cannot be true Culture without a wide possession of the great ideas of God and of destiny, of Christ and of the soul, of sin and of responsibility, of creation and of the world to come. The manuals of theological science and its methods, elaborated as they have been by so many pure and deep thinkers for so many centuries, are, as regards the subject-matter, marvellously complete, and as regards mental discipline, wonderfully stimulating and strengthening. Those are happy who can spend their four, their seven, or their ten years in the dry and ripening atmosphere of scholastic Theology. But there is a Theology other than the Theology of experts. And Theology in this differs from all other sciences, except its handmaid mental philosophy, that it cannot be left to experts, but must be studied by every reasoning being. The child begins, in the meagre formularies of its elementary catechism, to study Divine things. The poor man hears lessons in the deepest divinity from the altar of his church. But the leisured classes, those who are educated, who read, and who look out for culture, must employ their leisure and their education in the extended analysis of these very same truths, or else they cannot pretend to culture. For special arts may form the culture of special faculties; but the culture of man can be only in the things in which lies man's substantial perfection—his beginning, his end, his highest art and his supreme content.

How far the general Christian flock made a study of Divine things in this or that bygone age, or how far such a study was necessary,

there is no leisure at present to inquire. It may be that in times when thought was slower, wide views on Revelation were not commonly the property of even the intelligent classes. Yet it is true of the ages of faith, for example, that the predominating ideas in the mind were those of Revelation; and if analysis was not deep, yet it was deep enough (other disturbing causes being absent) to steady, purify and intensify spiritual acts. A generation which formed itself on S. Augustine's "City of God," and his "Confessions," and which knew nothing of Des Cartes or of Herbert Spencer, might have been as true philosophers as any thinkers of our own day; just as the grass and the corn which grew on English ground five hundred years ago were as sweet and as sound, though not so rank, as one finds in modern days of sewage farms and fertilizers. But our concern is with ourselves; and it is certainly true of our own day, not only that culture means theological knowledge, but that Catholics can only neglect theological culture at the peril of their faith. The reason is the double one, that thought is now in rapid and continual movement, and that the modern "method" of thought completely nullifies and excludes Theology. Nothing need be said of the former part of this reason. Undeniably, thought moves rapidly. Journalism is a proof of this; and so is the general literary activity of the age. What are deductions to-day become principles to-morrow. Doubtless, thought moves as often in the wrong as in the right direction, but it moves; phrases are discussed and traced to causes; words are broken to pieces; principles are called in question. This rapid march of thought and analysis is not always to be attributed to lofty motives or to any deep spiritual needs. It is rather because each morning demands fresh leading articles, and because mechanical art has made it so easy to multiply books. But the stream of thought rushes on, disintegrating and undermining the banks which have been solid ground for so many centuries; sometimes laying bare seams of precious ore, oftener carrying away good land and wrecking houses and homes.

That thought is progressive and quick is no reason why faith and revelation should be in danger. But if rapidity be combined with movement in an opposite direction, then the danger is very great indeed. For the rapid analysis here spoken of means that the mind has its hands full, if the expression be permitted. It means that the mind is taken up, pre-occupied, pleasantly employed, or strained to painful attention. It means that its capacity is nearly filled; and since spiritual aim and activity must depend on what the mind is chiefly imbued with, it is clear that the moral and spiritual life of a man must be

determined by the wide reaching "knowledge" or analysis which is now in the power of everyone who reads. Now, the "method" of modern thought ignores Revelation, and makes Theology impossible. This proposition seems a little dry; and indeed all talk about "methods" is liable to the charge of dryness; but it is really full of present and vital interest.

All the sceptical writers of the day, and most of the Protestant, agree in not holding any dogma or proposition as really "revealed by God." They may hold Revelation in a certain sense; they certainly talk about it very fully: they may profess to find "God's mind" in the Scriptures generally, or in history, or in the laws of nature. But they would object to admit as "revealed" any particular "proposition," duly made up of a definite subject and a definite predicate, joined together in a positive or negative relation. "There are three Persons in God;" "God the Son was made Flesh;" "In Adam all sinned;" "Christ saved the world by His death;" not one of these statements would be accepted by the sceptical and rationalistic schools—schools which combine to make up by far the larger part of our ablest philosophical and "theological" writers—as so "revealed" that a certain assignable amount of deflection from the ideas they severally express would be pernicious blindness, not to say damnable error. To such a school any analysis whatever of such propositions is impossible and out of the question. They may reject them; they may admit their partial truth, or admire their suggestiveness: or they may so far analyse them as to claim that they have proved them contradictory. But they can no more "develope" them into orderly "knowledge" than you can grow a rose on a dead stick. To the Catholic, each one of these statements is a source of light. He has them as starting-points for his measurements, as firm foundations for his buildings-up. He believes that each of their terms is definite and intelligible, and intelligible to himself, though not exhaustible by any created intellect. Thus the Catholic can freely analyse his dogmatic belief. He can bring to bear on each proposition all mental resource; Revelation itself, metaphysics, history, language, feeling, imagination. He can pursue it with greater or less clearness and certitude through wide fields of speculation; he can transmute mental speculation into spiritual motive, ever fresh and ever effective; he can draw rules of practice from the loftiest of his high imaginings, as the philosopher drew the lightning from the cloud to be the servant of man's necessity. Thus, to the Catholic, theological speculation is a science which starts from the analysis of certain and definite statements. But to the non-believer, Theology, if he uses the word—and he does use it—is a

science which has no "deposit" of truth to start from, but which must be slowly pieced out and put together by the observation of fact and law. Non-believing thinkers boast of taking nothing for granted except real facts, and this temper of mind is called "scientific." The epithet is misleading; because there may be as true and real a "science" founded on revealed or even assumed statements as on a comparison of facts; nay, since "science" cannot really begin until the collection and comparison of facts has gone on to a considerable extent, and since this process is one which the infirmity of the flesh and the shortness of life make it a temptation to abridge, it often happens that the data of contemporary scientists are real assumptions; and that science thus differs from Catholic Theology chiefly in this, that the theological premises of the latter are certain (as Catholics say), and that they are coherent and profitable (as everyone must admit). But be this as it may, the "method" of Theology and the "method" of rationalistic science are two opposite methods. "Science" is like a child who is ignorant but precocious, and affects to assume either that his father does not really utter the statements which his lips seem to utter, or that his own sense of hearing may perhaps be in a disordered condition, and who, therefore, declines to believe even the date of his own birth, or to be certain of his name, or to be sure that Britain is an island, or that horses will kick, or that over-eating will make him ill, until he has made personal experiment in each case. A glance at any one of a thousand books would illustrate the "method" of non-belief. Thinkers go back from fact to fact in order to find a prime mover or a God; they tear off the envelopes of matter, one after another, to recognise spirit; they interrogate consciousness and knock at a hundred closed doors to obtain tidings of a hereafter; they classify and describe twenty savage peoples and make out morality to be transformed nervous reaction; they experimentalize with dogs and "arctic foxes," and prove intelligence identical with instinct; and they put together a network of impulsive causes to show that freedom and responsibility are only fictions of the schools. They do not arrive at secure conclusions, but only at conjectures. Even their final conjectures are formed too late in life to enable them to act upon them. And their conjectures, carefully elaborated as they are, are constantly being proved hollow by their younger friends and disciples. Their "method" could never succeed in establishing a secure "deposit" of ascertained theological truth—of truth in favour of, or against, God, a soul, a future life, and human responsibility. But, even if it could, the "deposit" thus gained would be like the heavy

ore which the miner has spent himself to dig, and which the good ship has braved the seas to carry, but which lies useless on the quays where it was landed, because there is no one with leisure or means to turn it into useful shape.

We thus see clearly how easily "science" becomes the antagonist of Revelation. True science could never oppose revealed truth. But science, in modern acceptation, means the piecemeal investigation of facts, the putting those facts into words, and investing them with a certain colour or significance. And therefore it is not only possible but quite certain that modern "science," pursued with complete acceptance of modern "method," will often seriously compromise the interests of Divine truth. If Revelation be made up of statements framed by an infinite intelligence, able to take a universal and comprehensive view of past, present, and future, of all causes and consequents, of every law, and of all those intersections and orderly collisions of law which we call facts—then no human mind, from the widest human view of things or the fullest investigation possible to human intellect, can reasonably presume to criticise Revelation. If, in spite of this unreasonableness, man, on the strength of his (limited) observation, actually proceeds to criticise, his criticism may be accidentally right, but will always be formally wrong, and will generally be wrong in fact as well. It will be as if some traveller started to ascertain by personal experiment whether the world was round or no, and then sent home letters from every stopping-place to assure his friends that, so far, he had found it flat.

But it hardly comes within our present scope to insist on the antagonism of "science" and Revelation. What concerns us just now is Culture—that Catholic Culture is impossible without Theology, and that one of the principal dangers to such Catholic Culture now to be found is the so-called scientific method of non-believers. It is not difficult to understand this. Whither does this wide investigation of facts, with its accompanying setting forth of the bearing of facts—whither does it tend? It is easy to see. Its not remote effect is to pre-occupy the mind with interesting questions, to prepossess the imagination with specious views opposed to Revelation, and to fill the foreground with objections to doctrines of our dearest belief. The mere multiplication of subjects of thought operates disadvantageously to Catholic Culture. Every "science" has a whole literature to itself. Merely to follow the weekly contributions to a single branch of inquiry is a difficult task for any one mind. The leisured and literary man refuses to attempt theological "analysis" when he can read the brilliant experiments of a celebrated physicist, and the picturesque

suggestions of a great traveller. And what the eye does not see the memory soon forgets. If a man wanders abroad very much, amid Alpine scenery, or from point to point on Italian coasts, it is no wonder that his idea of the beautiful places of his own island becomes very dim and untrustworthy. There are many who drift into unbelief by a simple process of acquiring and forgetting; as the sensitive field of the imagination receives new and vivid colour, the old colour dies out. Let no one think it narrow or bigoted if it seems to be here affirmed that an interest in matters non-theological tends to kill Divine faith. In two cases, this would not be true. If the mind were large enough and vigorous enough to embrace an immensely wide field of investigation, in which full justice should be done to a wide analysis of things revealed, then faith would not be in danger. And, again, if an intelligence, limited as ordinary intelligences are, should so order and restrict the time and attention given to studies of curiosity or material progress as to give a fair chance to the illuminating power of religious truth, then spiritual interests might again be safe. But if "knowledge" is pursued and Divine Revelation neglected, the hold of religion on the mind must gradually diminish. Real "knowledge," as already shown, only goes as far as more or less conscious analysis goes. A man only knows what he can readily recall in considerable detail. And when such detail is wanting, then knowledge may lie in the brain like a shrunken root on the river's brink, but it has ceased to shoot its tendrils into the imagination, to propel vital sap towards action, and to communicate with any living spring of force. To the mind which fills itself with the literature of the "wisdom of this world," the splendid kingdom of God's grace seems hardly to exist. Such a man's thoughts are not God's thoughts, his views are not those of the counsels of God. Spiritual subjects, to him, are shadowy and distant; the interests of the Church are unreal; the gain or the loss of souls does not rouse him; the whole life of the "supernatural" is like a life which transacts itself on a distant planet, dimly known by experts, of little moment to the race of man. This is not meant to be a homily. It is only the setting down of an important mental phenomenon. A man must be what his mental life is; and if his mental life is active and yet excludes religious truth, there is an antecedent probability that religious truth will not, in him, receive fair play.

But the actual case is a good deal stronger than this. To be preoccupied is much; but to be preoccupied by the enemy is much more. A large amount of the best modern writing and thinking is hostile to Revelation and to Catholic truth.

The most eagerly bought books are full of "objections" and difficulties against every point of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. There are two ways of "objecting;" one is formally to state a direct argument; another is to draw out elaborate "views" which take the place of religious truth, like one dissolving picture obliterates another, and which are incompatible with belief. Such objections are often difficult to answer; it is of the nature of all truth that a hundred difficulties can be urged with greater ease than one answer can be given. Even if they are absolutely answerable by the mind which meets them, they leave a sediment or slime behind them which kills salutary mental activity. The imagination becomes infected by the constant repetition of words and phrases; for steady mental vision is impossible unless the imagination or fancy is the mind's healthy minister. We do not admit, but we begin to tolerate; and the toleration of error is not very distant from acquiescence. The mere statement of a difficulty, elaborated, as it often is, with much care and resource, and set out in skilful and winning words, sometimes suffices to produce a sort of conviction. Such a conviction may be unwillingly entertained; faith may not by any means give way at first; but it overshadows the thought, it takes possession of outposts and barriers, and the citadel is in proximate danger. There are books which argue boldly against God, futurity, and Revelation. Those who read such books grow accustomed to hear blasphemy without a shock, and so far they are nearer to unbelief than they were, one natural protector being dead. Again, there are books which act like a poison, or rather a malaria; without a wound, without a blow, strong men droop, healthy cheeks grow pale and sickly. It is no matter that the arguments are sophistical and the views founded on incomplete induction of facts. An argument is a long affair, and every one of its premises may be true whilst the connecting particle, like a bridge between two fertile banks, may be rotten. A dozen facts by skilful handling can be made, like the supernumeraries of a country theatre, to do the duty of a multitude; and even if we detect the juggle there is a curious impression of reality which it is difficult to shake off. And thus when one has been reading the modern philosophic thinkers on Creation, on the Absolute, on Liberty, or on the Papacy, and has disputed nearly every statement, detected an incompleteness in every argument, and been roused to indignation at every other page, still there is left on the whole mental fibre an impress that remains when the book has been closed; just as the prisoner retains the feeling of his bonds after he has broken and cast them aside. For our thought, and therefore our religious thought, is affected, not by proof and

logic merely, but by every spoken word, every picture held up, every emotion which finds a response within us.

It will be said that this may be very true, but that it cannot now be helped. Non-religious and anti-religious literature floods the world, and no one can live in the world without wading or swimming in the flood. Simplicity is no longer possible. To meet objections we must be acquainted with objections.

As to this, the first and most obvious reflection is, that a man must think of his own mind and heart before he undertakes to put the world right. As a Catholic, he is sure and secure that his views are right, and if he finds that difficulties stagger him, for want of skill or leisure to answer them, he must shirk the difficulties. When one knows the truth, as a Catholic does, there is no moral obligation to realise its difficulties, but generally an obligation the other way. If he finds that the artful setting forth of a number of interesting and true facts in biology, ethnology, or history, unsettles his imagination and disturbs the adhesion of his faith to the revealed word of God, then he must limit his reading, or take means to counteract the danger. The young and the uninstructed have no right to read what is against the Faith. A mind with merely elementary knowledge of religion is sure to be disturbed by the essayists and reviewers. A young man or woman who has learnt nothing since days of catechism, who has disliked sermons, avoided religious books, and never mastered the development of a single revealed doctrine, is tempting God in reading brilliant and thoughtful statements of materialism, scepticism, or atheism. This is not to give the mind fair play. The mind has been kept ignorant of the strength of its own case. The familiarity and the sympathy which should have grown up during long periods of acquaintance with God's revealed truth are altogether wanting. It is as if a child had never lived with his mother, and then, when she claimed his love, turned to strangers, because, though he knew her, she had no past for him, and was nothing but a name.

But for Catholics of sufficient leisure and earnestness a method has already been indicated by which the Catholic mind and heart may be both saved in the flood and may co-operate in saving a drowning world. That method is to know, with fairly minute analysis, the doctrines of its own belief. Without such wide analysis of doctrine no Catholic can be said to be cultured. And so-called Culture, without wide analysis of religious truth, is dangerous and ruinous.

Before it is attempted to show in detail how the cultivation of "Theology" may be made more effective and complete

among Catholics generally, the remark must once more be insisted upon, that the cultivation of religious truth means rather to dissect propositions than to discover facts. It is true that there is a field for what is called discovery, both in the order of analysis and in the order of fact. But in Catholic Theology we do not arrive at conclusions; we rather start from them. If we arrive at what seems to be novelties, those novelties were implicitly contained in the ancient truth from which we began; or else they are dangerous. Logically, no doubt, all the deductions and speculations of dogmatic, moral and devotional theology are "conclusions;" but they are the conclusions of argument and not of induction. Neither is it for one moment denied that there is, in theological cultivation, a wide field for the use of Scriptural, patristic, and historical "facts;" but such facts are either dogmatic propositions, or else they belong to the proof and the polemics of such propositions. The faith has been "delivered," and is a "deposit" in the Church's keeping; and no discoveries of scriptural facts, or of historical facts, or of facts of science, will ever alter it. This is the spirit of Catholic Theology. It has already been shown how totally opposite is the existing "scientific" spirit. But, even in domestic and Catholic circles, there is some necessity for insisting that the creed cannot be altered by historians, linguists, or antiquaries. There is a proposition in the Syllabus of errors condemned by Pope Pius IX., which may have been somewhat overlooked in the excitement of the last few years. Even at the time it was condemned it seemed to some minds to be of little immediate interest or definiteness. It runs thus: "The *method* and principles used by the ancient scholastic doctors in the cultivation of Theology are unfitted to the needs of our times and to the progress of the sciences."* The Pope, writing to the Archbishop of Munich on the celebrated Congress of German theologians and learned men, held at Munich, in September, 1863, does not say that this statement was explicitly made at the meeting. But he says he is well aware that it expresses the opinion of many German thinkers. At that Congress, Dr. von Döllinger, the president, pronounced a discourse (afterwards published separately) from which it is very easy to gather what error was aimed at in the Pontifical epistle. Dr. von Döllinger endeavoured to show that in order to "revive" Theology as a science in harmony with the other sciences of

* "Methodus et principia, quibus antiqui doctores scholastici Theologiam excoluerunt, temporum nostrorum necessitatibus scientiarumque progressui minime congruunt" ("Epist. Tuas Libenter," December 21, 1863).

the day, the old scholastic method must be abandoned, and a new one substituted. The *synthetic* method of the moderns must take the place of the *analytic* method of the schoolmen. Theology must be assisted by history and by biblical exegesis, or else it will be only "one-eyed." "The character of a genuine Theologian," said the address, "is to dig deep, to prove assiduously and unwearingly, and not to turn back in fear when investigation leads to results irreconcilable with preconceived opinions and fancies." The anti-theological spirit is exactly described in this sentence; the absence of fixed dogmatic statement, the unrecking search, and the dependence of belief on individual or co-operative discovery. It is not, perhaps, very important to recall an episode in the history of faith and science which has been almost forgotten in the larger occurrences that have taken place since. Yet it well illustrates the truth here insisted upon, that theological Culture is development and not discovery. The *Summa Theologica* of S. Thomas of Aquin, which is the pre-eminent example of the ancient scholastic method, is a work in which dogma after dogma, clause after clause, and word after word, are penetrated, divided, analysed and illustrated; but each dogma, each clause, and almost every word thus analysed may be recognised as belonging to the faith delivered and handed down.

Catholic Culture, then, which is the same thing as essential Culture, may be said to consist in the possession of the details of one's belief, provided these details are not a confused chaos but an orderly "knowledge." The cultured Catholic is one who has been led through the passes of those mountains which bound the horizon for too many of us, and introduced to the far-stretching, fertile, populous plains beyond. He is one who does not defer the taking such a journey till his eye is wearied and his brain unreceptive; but who has travelled in his youth and taken in ideas at a time when ideas can be assimilated into substance. He has understood that to know the details of religious truth is eminently to know; and no business, as far as he could help it, and no line of mental work, has been allowed to hinder him from extending his acquaintance with things revealed. He has neither been frightened by terms nor has he been contented with terms, but has marched up to bristling formularies as an army marches up to a fort, and, having stormed them, has left them secure and garrisoned, as pledges and proofs that he holds the country round about. Preferring great, deep, and far-reaching subjects to smaller points, and avoiding actual and present controversy, when possible, on account of the human littlenesses which it is sure to call forth he lives with great and ennobling thoughts, sees many sides of

his grand inheritance, and has no speculation, fancy, habit, or aspiration which is not deeply tinged by his faith.

1. The first thing required for real and thorough Catholic Culture is—that it begin early in life. Boys and girls are taught their Catechism, and perhaps they learn it better now than ever it has been learnt before. Children of thirteen or fourteen in our elementary schools will present the examiner with an array of theological information which would almost qualify them for the subdiaconate. But to learn the Catechism, or even to be able to explain and amplify the Catechism, is not religious Culture, or even the beginning of Culture. The details of religion are only the “matter” of religious Culture. The spirit is a different thing. Religion rests upon four ideas—God, the soul, Jesus Christ, eternity. These four ideas are sufficiently one to form one single illuminating theory of human life. It is only when the mind has begun to feel the dawn of this spiritual consciousness that Culture can begin. Before that all the formularies of the creed, the questions and answers of the Catechism, the innumerable points of information of which the manuals are full, are outside and foreign matters. The memory may master them and present them to a questioner, but only as the hired servant gathers the grapes or the corn for another’s use and profit. It is true there is spiritual life—Faith, Hope, and Charity—in the thoughtless child and in the stolid rustic. But it is in no way connected with any detailed knowledge either may possess of the formulas or facts of religion. And this is in great measure the reason why so much of the religious instruction of the days of our youth (and also of our mature years) is unacceptable and dry when we have to submit to it, and readily dismissed when we no longer hear it. It never reached the interior of our spirit; it never touched the point where all our being has its centre. It never was Culture; it was only information. But once let the shock of thorough spiritual consciousness run through the details of Creed and Catechism, and what was outside adornment becomes vital endowment. Every article, every analysis, every fact of Scripture, of history, of positive law, is felt to be in relation with the soul’s very being, with her origin, her life, and her destiny. And thus the infinite details of Theology become the Culture of the spirit.

Children must be not only taught, then, but touched also. In our schools and colleges the upper grades lay aside their Catechism, and then their teachers find some difficulty in knowing what to put into their hands. The idea is to get more information and fuller explanation. Nothing is here intended to be said against information and explanation. But what boys

and girls of thirteen or fourteen require is that lighting up of the spirit which is here called spiritual consciousness. They may learn religion as a task, but unless they can connect their task with their soul and their God they will be little the better of their labour. What they want is something in the shape of great dogmatic sermons, rather than chapters of Catechism. Their teacher must be a preacher and a man of God, and if he is a man of eloquence and subtle feeling also, it is so much the better. Why have not our upper classes in colleges a course of such readings as Bourdaloue's *Sermons sur les Mystères*, or Massillon's discourse on the Divinity of our Lord, or Bossuet's magnificent dogmatic orations? Let no one object that to mix up preaching with teaching is to spoil both. There is preaching and preaching. Youths need not be urged during Catechism hours to the avoidance of the sins or the practice of the smaller virtues of life. But Catholic Culture does not mean the cultivation of the intellect only, but of the heart also; and to cultivate the heart implies the invocation of the deep spiritual motives and views; and, moreover, nothing but such views and motives can give to intellectual details any interest except that of mere history or antiquarianism or curiosity. The theologian is acquainted with Lessius's *De Divinis Nominibus*. It is a book which is half prayer, half scientific disquisition. The science exhales in devout aspiration, and the aspiration is the sweet odour of the breaking in pieces of Divine truth. It is a book which would be beyond the highest classes of a school. But its spirit is the true spirit of Catholic Culture.

2. To carry out Catholic Culture, the deep truths of Theology must be studiously brought to the test of the truest and deepest current speech. When a science has passed into mere archaic technicalities it is a dead science. Religious truth has its technical formularies, and it must always have them. To change its phrases would be to endanger its stability, for the words enshrine the thing. No one need be afraid of the consecrated terms of theological expression. But there is a danger, and the danger lies in our being contented with the sound and the repetition of them. There have been periods when many of the words that sound quaint and conventional to our ears were living and winged ideas to our forefathers. And it often happens, with ourselves, that a word which is barren to one heart is full of light and fruitfulness to another. There are men who can read the Homeric catalogue of ships with a sense of picturesque entertainment, and men who never hear the genealogies of our Lord without seeing the whole stately procession of the books of Kings, with its solemn lessons and its memories sweet and sad, pass vividly before their fancy. And the names of the Christian mysteries

should be as powerful and as real. To those who have made them their "meditation day and night" they are indeed most real. And therefore it is short-sighted to insist that theology, to be effective, must be stripped of its technicalities. The technicalities must touch the mind and heart in a sufficient number of points; that is all.

Men think in the grooves of their generation; and it is the misfortune of our own day that much of the best thought and speech is cast in a mould very unlike the mould from which came forth the formularies of the Church. It is not easy, therefore, to reduce Theology to a common denominator with current thought. So much the better, some will say. But the difficulty must be met. If men cannot come to church without a troublesome change of clothes, they will either stay away, or they will only attend on the most solemn occasions. If Theology cannot be talked and written about in phrase similar to that which is used by the fairly serious and earnest portion of the non-believing majority, Theology will remain a secret craft, and those who know Theology will be a class apart. There is no more pressing occupation, therefore, of a cultured Catholic mind, than to compare the forms and phrases of actual thought with the formularies of Divine truth. The mental philosophy of the day is often wrong; it is sometimes right; and it generally offers us at least an interesting array of true facts. When it is wrong, we promote culture by comparison and rejection; when it is right, we press it into the service of truth; when we have only facts to deal with, we find them full of unsuspected light. What is wanted is a series of books, written in English, in which the great mysteries of faith shall be set forth nobly and feelingly; books between the scholastic treatise and the catechetical manual: books in which the great formulas and words of the "deposit" are never lost sight of, but in which current mental views, current aspirations and current difficulties are made use of, as the limestone is poured into the iron furnace, to make the truth flow more purely, and the rich stream come more fully and more freely out. We have more than enough of catechisms, of manuals, of controversies, and of didactic sermons. What should be revived is the art that seems almost lost since the days of the great Frenchmen of the seventeenth century—the art of Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Thomassin, of writing stately and vibrating prose on the mysteries of the Christian religion.

3. If Catholic Culture means the mingling of theological truth with our actual mental life, it also means the elevation of our mental views by the influence of the high and solemn influence of the same Divine truth. Culture avoids small points and disputes. It is not that the very smallest point may not be,

perhaps, simply essential, or that controversy may not be salutary and obligatory. And it is also true that the great controversialists have been and are profoundly imbued with Catholic Culture. But for the ordinary mind, the complete possession of minor details obscures great principles, and to be armed at all points against an adversary means the absence of a wide knowledge of what you are really fighting for. There is no absolute necessity that this should be so, but, through the infirmity of human nature, it is what very generally happens. To have to dispute with a Protestant about the "cruelties" of the Inquisition, or the wealth of mediæval bishops, or the degrees of dirt to be found in this or that Catholic country, if it be a man's business and work, is as great a drawback to the true Catholic Culture of his mind as if he were obliged to make shoes or mend roads for his living. He may be a saint with it all, and may receive supernatural illuminations which will make human Culture a very small consideration indeed. And he may counteract the opposing influences by strong efforts; but the influence will be there. Even in domestic controversies the same remarks hold good. Since life is not long enough for everything, it would, in most cases, be preferable to possess a wide analysis of the creed, rather than to know the rubrics. There are some who must know the rubrics; and the least rubric or ceremony is important enough to be worth laying down one's life for. Much more true is this of the least command of the Church, or the most trifling Pontifical decision. But since most Catholics, aspiring to Culture, are not gifted with the powers of a Pico della Mirandola, it is better for them to study broad outlines of doctrine, and to be content to accept rubrics from rubricians, and the decisions of moot points from the authority of the Theological School. Detail controversy, even amongst Catholics, may be necessary, though it is often the reverse; and it may be conducted on lofty heights, and with a serene grasp of principles on both sides, the very contemplation of which is a liberal education. But it cannot be too clearly understood that the essence of Catholic Culture means the possession of the Revelation of Jesus Christ; and the labour necessary to acquire a fair hold of positive Divine truth would generally leave little leisure to enter into minute points of actual controversy. If every disputant prepared himself, as the great polemical writers have done, by a thorough education in the mysteries of the kingdom of God, the culture of his Catholic heart would suffer nothing by controversy. But a dispute appeals to immediate interest; it presents tempting handles to take hold of; it rouses a little that old Adam in the best of us who is apt to communicate a marvellous keenness to sentences and paragraphs which

calm Christian duty would have left serenely judicial. And just as the young man or young woman of these days is found gasping with excitement over the "crushing" but daintily expressed arguments in the current Review or Magazine against immortality, or responsibility, having never mastered the positive side of Catholic argument on these subjects, so the hasty and hap-hazard Catholic reader fastens on this bit of controversy, and on that other newspaper skirmish, and lets it absorb a large portion of his disposable mental power, which would otherwise, economically used, have helped him to a fair understanding of matters ten thousand times more important to his mind, his heart, and his destiny.

4. The wide and "scientific" knowledge of religious truth cannot be acquired, any more than any other science, without considerable study. To be a cultured Catholic, therefore, one must undertake no small amount of labour. But it is the plain duty of the leisured classes to imbue themselves with Catholic exposition. Bishop Dupanloup—whose recent loss we are still deploring—in the work named at the head of this article, declares that the ignorance of religion in France among Catholics is "deplorable." Even those who are otherwise well-informed, even practical Christian people, are shockingly ill-instructed in religion.

We often find that religion is simply unknown. Nothing, or next to nothing, is known of its essential doctrines, of its constitution, its liturgy, its proofs, its rights, its action in the world; very little is known of its origin, of its history, and even of the history of Jesus Christ; its most self-evident interests are not understood, and no one is capable of furthering them, or of defending them. And with numbers of unreflecting persons, the one superfluous matter, the one matter which never occurs to them, is to make any efforts to rise from this ignorance and endeavour in serious earnest to learn something about Christianity. The question is, What will become of a generation of Christians such as these? My deep conviction is, that we have here a source of incalculable weakness for the Church and for souls. This is the reason why we have so many soft, feeble, undecided Christians, and so few of those manly Christians and strong, "rooted and founded" in the faith; so few great souls, so few great virtues.*

It is a cause for thankfulness that in this country there is, among Catholics, by no means such lack of earnestness in religious knowledge as is here described. But there is no doubt that the immense extent and the attractiveness of hostile and neutral literature are a danger, and a growing danger, to the keenness of the Catholic spirit. The mere number of plea-

* "De la haute Education," tom. iii. p. 442.

sant books and periodicals is one part of the temptation. Printed matter now occupies the place of the "theatre" of the early Christian ages. Just as the Fathers denounced scenic representations in the second, third, and fourth centuries, so a modern preacher might warn this generation from Print. The comparison is not altogether fair, because print may be a benefit, often is a benefit, and is not seldom a necessity; and the Roman theatre of the Empire was without one redeeming feature. But no one can understand the very vehement language of the Fathers unless he has made some study of the naturalism, the animalism, the turning upside down of morality, the enjoyable openness, and the fashionableness, of the ancient games and plays of theatre, circus, procession, and worship. S. Peter Chrysologus had this before him at Ravenna when he said—what seems common-place now, but was very living then—"He that will play with the devil cannot rejoice with Christ." Were he living now, would he not have said something quite as strong of the present reign of papers, magazines, and books? What is commonly called "immorality," is not here alluded to. But a Catholic man or woman who confines his or her reading for the greater part to non-Catholic journals, reviews, histories, and novels, lives mostly in the presence of false morality, naturalism (which is the denial of our destiny), animalism (which is impurity veiled according to the existent conventionality), and a theory of life which totally leaves out God's revelation and the lessons of our Saviour's teaching. A second Chrysologus is sorely needed to preach upon the text, "He that *readeth* with the devil cannot *know* Jesus Christ!"

It is easy, however, to condemn and to denounce non-Catholic literature; it is more difficult to say what there actually is to take its place. English Catholic literature is remarkably deficient in attractive books on the great revealed doctrines. We are so occupied with watching and following the enemy that we have pitched many tents and thrown up many serviceable earthworks, but built very few houses. Putting aside the books of Father Faber, almost all available exposition of Catholic doctrines is in the form of sermons, and is, therefore, short and fragmentary. Doubtless, Father Faber, in the well-known series in which he has poured out the learning of a theologian in the prose of a poet, has come nearest to giving to this generation Catholic theology which could compete with popular literature. Father Faber's exposition has wrought a great effect. It has filled the hearts of a generation with a detailed appreciative knowledge of their faith. To him, in great measure, we owe a certain intelligent and broad practical piety, grounded on true Catholic traditional principle, and

rooted in dogma; a piety which is most useful against worldliness on the one hand, and Jansenistic strictness on the other. But there are reasons why Father Faber's books do not advance Catholic Culture as much as it would seem they ought to do. In the first place they are what is called "spiritual" books. Spiritual books, that is to say, books addressed mainly to moral and ascetical purposes, are of much more absolute necessity than even books which aim at Culture. But we can and ought to have both kinds. The prevailing "spiritual" element in such works as "The Creator and the Creature," and "The Blessed Sacrament," tends to dilute the masterly exposition in which they abound. Then the genius of Father Faber was powerfully imaginative; but the luminousness of his fancy was not so much the white light of exact and carefully economised illustration, as the crude and chromatic reflection on his poet's mind of all things brilliant and beautiful. Like modern stained-glass in an old church, it is bright and charming, but it sometimes has a disastrous effect on the niched saints and the silent warriors. One of the worst consequences of brilliant fancy unrestrained is falsehood. What is here meant is not moral falsehood, but a literary falsehood, akin to bad drawing, or refraction of light, or the misleading disposition of colour or shadow. Then, further, the ascetical purpose of his books and his exuberant imagination, combined to make him too diffuse for a successful teacher. In addition to these drawbacks, Father Faber has a distinct mannerism. Mannerism is the repetition of traits or strokes too trivial and slight to be able to bear repetition. Without for one moment depreciating or forgetting Father Faber's splendid services in the exposition and analysis of Catholic dogma, it may be fairly said that his books have such defects as are here pointed out. Yet there could be formed out of his pages a series of expository chapters on the Apostles' Creed which would be almost what is wanted. There are one or two other books in English that have in them something of what we seek; but they are too imperfect in their execution to be named. Among French books of the present time we venture to name the conferences of Lacordaire and of Ravignan, of Père Felix, and of Père Monsabré, and the *Dogmes Catholiques* of Laforet. In German there are the *Mysterien* of Scheeben, which are well deserving of an English translator, and his *Dogmatik*. In Italian let us name the *Prolegomeni* of Don Luigi Tosti, and the *Dottrina Cattolica esposta* of the eloquent Oratorian Alfonso Capececiatello. Our readers will think of others; for in all matters into which literature enters individual taste must be allowed for. Let it be noted that we are searching not for eloquence alone, or we could

name greater writers, even among Catholics, than any here mentioned, and not for doctrine alone, but for expositions of the positive side of Catholic doctrine set forth with power, beauty, and feeling. And we look to the younger generation of English-speaking Catholics for books such as these in our own tongue.

The three words inscribed on the cover of this *Review*, as its motto, are words of the Vatican Council—Understanding, Science, Wisdom. To understand is to fix one's intellect according to the cardinal points of God's Revelation. To have Science is to have attained the full and orderly development of revealed Truth. To have Wisdom is highest of all—and it is to possess revealed doctrine as a light, a life, and an instinct. Intelligence leads the mind up the steps which are at the threshold of a great temple; Science makes it free of that temple, of all its halls and cloisters, and of its solemn sanctuary; Wisdom makes it dwell within that sanctuary, realising many things in a few. No one who will not "understand" can attain to Science; and without divine science he cannot be a cultured *man*. Wisdom does not always wait to come by rule and order; but she finds her readiest habitation in minds which have been accustomed, from studious youth to a diligent maturity and age, to "meditate" on the law of the Lord.

ART. II.—THE RELIEF OF THE POOR IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

1. *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Armenpflege*. Von Georg Ratzinger. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1868.
2. *La charité chrétienne dans les premiers siècles de l'Église*. Par le Comte Franz de Champagny. Paris, 1856.
3. *Études historiques sur l'influence de la charité dans les premiers siècles chrétiens*. Par Etienne Chastel. Paris, 1853.

IT has become a commonplace that history, in this generation, looks rather to the condition of the people than to the doings of statesmen, kings, or armies. But the term people is ambiguous; and amid descriptions of the arts and sciences, the local institutions, and the social and political life of the upper and middle classes, we may forget the masses below, especially those who, besides being poor, are too weak to make their poverty a source of fear to those above them. And yet, if it be true that the condition and treatment of the poor are the best test of whether the nobler qualities of man have or have

not prevailed over the baser,* the situation and relief of the poor must form an important department of history. With a fragment of that department the present paper is concerned; or rather, to keep within limits, with the fragment of a fragment: not looking at the general situation of the poor in pagan times, nor at the entire action of the Church on the lower classes, her mitigation of slavery, her restoration of the honour due to manual labour, her war against the sources of material and moral misery,† but only at one field of her action, her remedial as distinct from preventive charity, or her service of those in actual distress. And it will be seen whether her doctrines on the duty of almsgiving, the responsibility of the rich, the dignity of the poor, and the brotherhood of men, remained mere barren teaching, or produced a rich harvest of good works. The limits of the present Paper forbid me to look further than the period of persecution which closed with the peace of the Church under Constantine. But this period is not chosen arbitrarily; for the service of the poor in the patristic age differs much from that in the age of persecutions; and a different organisation was needed for the changed position both of the poor and of the Church. Thus, for example, while the love feasts of the earlier period, which we shall have presently to describe, were unsuited to the new circumstances and gradually decayed, there arose a multitude of charitable institutions, hospitals, orphanages, refuges, and the like, which plainly would have been unfit and impossible for a persecuted Church.

Having explained my limits, I should add that in the main I have followed the three works placed at the head of this article, those, namely, of Ratzinger, Champagny, and Chastel. The two last both end after treating the period of the Fathers; Champagny is a useful supplement to Chastel, who gives more information, and often allows us to forget that he is a Protestant. The work of Ratzinger is of a more important character, being of more recent date, and being, as far as I know, the first and still the only systematic history of the works of Christian charity during the whole period of the existence of the Church. The interest of the subject, and the learning and talent of the author, make us all the more regret the many and grave failings of this book, especially as regards the Middle Ages; at some passages we might almost think we were reading a page out of "Janus." But if his book was written in the poisoned

* Cf. Ratzinger, "*Geschichte der Kirchlichen Armenpflege*," p. 1.

† Hereon much information is to be found in Paul Allard's excellent work, "*Les Esclaves Chrétiens*." Paris, 1876.

air of Munich before the Vatican Council, the author has subsequently freed himself from the unhappy influence of one whom I need not name; and I only wish that now he would publish a revised edition of his work, so as to fit it to become a manual of this important and attractive department of Church history.

To begin with the Apostolic age and the first Christian community in Jerusalem, we see realised the ideal of Christian communism, a communism not of ownership but of use, the rich looking on their goods as held in trust for the poor rather than as being at their own free disposal. We read in the Acts: "And all who believed were together and had all things in common, and they sold their possessions and goods and divided them among all according as each had need" (Acts ii. 44, 45). Again: "Of the multitude of believers there was one heart and one soul, nor did anyone call his own anything of what he possessed, but they had all things in common" (iv. 32). Some writers have imagined at this time a forced and formal communism, each new Christian having to give up his private property. True, indeed, besides the passages already cited, we read: "For neither was there anyone in want among them, since as many as were possessors of lands and houses sold them, and brought the proceeds and laid them at the feet of the apostles. And they distributed to each according as he had need" (iv. 34). But then we must plainly interpret these passages by the light of others; and in the two verses following the last cited verse we are told how Joseph, surnamed Barnabas by the Apostles, "having land sold it, and brought the price, and laid it before the feet of the apostles." Had he merely done what all or even the majority did, this example would have hardly been given. And in the following chapter we see that the dreadful judgment which befel Ananias and Saphira was not because they had kept a portion of their goods, but because they had lied to the Holy Ghost. St. Peter said expressly to Ananias: "Whilst remaining was it not thine, and when sold was it not in thy power?" (Acts v. 4.) It seems therefore probable that, far from the surrender of private property being a requisite before admission into the Christian community, the majority even at first retained their rights of ownership, and that with the growth of the community at Jerusalem, and the spread of Christianity in other places, the surrender of goods became quite exceptional. But, as we shall see, the communism of use remained, if not indeed in the completeness of the first fervour at Jerusalem, at least in a measure to excite wonder and admiration.

So much to avert a preliminary misapprehension. And now

let us take a brief survey of the Christian service of the poor in the time of the early Church, in the period namely of persecution that began with the Apostles and ended with the peace of the Church under Constantine.* And for the sake of order let us look first at the material sources of relief and at the persons conducting it.

The stream of charitable donations seems to have flowed in four main channels. First were the offerings of the faithful placed on the altar during Mass at the Offertory, and composed mainly of bread and wine, a portion of which was used for the Holy Sacrifice; the remainder, together with the other offerings, as of honey, milk, or fruit, was used for the support of the clergy and the poor. No one was obliged to contribute, yet even the poor were urged not to come empty-handed, and the names of all the givers were read out and prayed for in the Church. These oblations were particularly abundant upon the commemoration days (*natalitiæ*) of the martyrs, and the anniversaries of departed relatives. A second channel of almsgiving was the *corbona*, or church-box, into which the faithful put their voluntary and secret, yet regular, contributions, generally, it seems, weekly, or at least monthly. A third channel was the collect or collection made at given seasons by the deacon before the reading of the epistle. The regular collections were especially if not exclusively in times of fasting, and in general the intimate connexion between fasting and almsgiving, the former of little merit without the latter, was urged by the fathers from S. Ignatius and Hermas onwards. What was saved by fasting was to be given to the poor, lest instead of piety there be speculation, and an increase, not of one's merits, but of one's store of provisions.† A fourth channel of charity was the *agapæ*, or love-feast, at which rich and poor partook in common, and which I shall describe anon. Besides these four ordinary modes of contribution, extraordinary collections were made on occasions of special need, and also from time to time extraordinary donations were received; for often rich men who became Christians sold all or much of their property and placed the proceeds at the disposal of the bishop, as the first Christians at the feet of the Apostles. Especially, it seems, many of those who entered the ranks of the clergy gave up

* The reviewer of Ratzinger in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, December, 1869, objects to his separation of the Apostolic age from the age of persecution, and thinks the first three centuries should be treated together as upon the whole exhibiting the same method of relief.

† Citations hereon collected by A. Tollemer, "Des origines de la charité catholique." Paris: 1863. Pp. 497—506. Cf. Chastel, pp. 227—229.

their goods entirely and were supported by the funds of the Church, while a negative source of revenue was supplied by such of the clergy as supported themselves by a handicraft or husbandry,* and thus required nothing from the resources of the bishop. Tithes were not obligatory, and in the West not even usual during this period, as can be gathered from S. Irenaeus and S. Cyprian, whereas in the East they were, perhaps, frequently paid. A final but hardly important source of revenue was from the houses, gardens, and lands which the Church possessed even before the time of Constantine. The poor also received much that was distributed directly by the givers. Of this individual almsgiving I will speak presently, looking now only to the collective almsgiving of the Church.

The funds that came from what was laid on the altar, or placed in the church-box, or given at the collects, were united in the hands of the bishop, as once at Jerusalem in the hands of the Apostolic College. The bishop was uncontrolled and irresponsible in his administration, but had a tremendous responsibility before God; and though the subsequent division of the revenues of the Church into four parts, one for the bishop, one for the clergy, one for the fabric, and one for the poor, was not yet established, there was probably some analogous kind of partition; nor does the evidence or the nature of the case seem to countenance the view that there was no separation between the funds for the clergy and for the poor, and that the clergy were only supported by the Church in their character of *pauperes*.† This much only can, I think, be said, that the early Church in some respects followed the mode of growth thought to be characteristic of the early stages of societies, and that the simplicity, likeness, and vagueness of structure and functions was only gradually succeeded by complexity, diversity, and precision. Thus Champagny remarks ("Charité Chrét.," p. 79): "It is often difficult to distinguish in the language of the Fathers and the Councils, I do not say the treasure of the Church and the treasure of the poor, which are but one, but the list of the clergy and the list of the poor, the ministers who serve the Church and the poor whom the Church serves, the widows consecrated to the Lord, and the widows simply helped by the Church." But this does not imply that there was no order in the distribution of the funds coming into

* Ratzinger, pp. 32—46, thinks *most* of the clergy thus supported themselves. Whether his view rests on solid grounds I cannot say.

† Ratzinger's exaggerated view on the phrase *patrimonium pauperum* is corrected by Funk in the *Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1869, pp. 357—358.

the hands of the bishop, and I will give another citation from Champagny on this distribution. "He [the bishop] took first what was necessary for his support and that of his clergy, who generally lived with him in a community recalling that of Jerusalem; then he took what was necessary for the entertainment of guests, as the good work of hospitality became the special and personal charge of the bishop; the remainder went to the poor through the hands of the deacon, always, indeed, with the assent of the bishop" (pp. 131-132).

We have mentioned the deacon, and this brings us to the admirable method observed in the relief of the poor. The bishop was to know and to help all the poor and suffering in his diocese. But to gain this knowledge from his own personal experience, and with his own hands to minister to the wants of the distressed, was an impossible task. We read in the Acts (ch. vi.) how the Apostles themselves, overburdened by having to attend to the material needs of the faithful, caused seven men to be chosen for this special purpose. Thus arose the order of the deacons,* who for a long period of Church history conducted the relief of the poor, and whose service can be summed up in the words of the Apostolic Constitutions (ii. 44): "Let the deacon be the ear, the eye, the mouth, the heart, and the soul of the bishop, so that the bishop may not have to attend to all sorts of business (*τὰ πολλὰ*) but only to what is more important." Besides conducting the *agapæ*, to be described presently, the deacons went round searching out the poor in their homes, examining into their needs and reporting on them to the bishop, with whom rested the decision whether they should be placed on the list of those helped by the Church. In Rome, after the example of Jerusalem, were seven deacons, to each of whom was intrusted two of the fourteen regions of the city. This organisation dates perhaps from early in the second century (St. Evaristus), and was distinct from the division of Rome into twenty-five titles or parishes.† One of the deacons was called the Pope's Deacon, later the archdeacon, and was the chief official of the Pope both in spirituals and temporals. Although of lower ecclesiastical rank, he had a sort of authority over the other clergy, and was generally called to succeed

* Ratzinger's novel view that the seven men mentioned in Acts vi. were not deacons, and that the functions of deacons, till about the middle of the second century were confined to liturgical acts, rests, according to the *Historisch-polit. Blät.*, December, 1869, solely on one misunderstood passage of S. Ignatius, and is opposed to the biblical account and to all following evidence from the history of this ecclesiastical office.

† See Dr. Northcote, "Roma sotteranea," pp. 91-93. Fr. Morris in *The Month*, February, 1878, pp. 220-226.

to the vacant Apostolic See.* Each deacon was helped by a subdeacon and others below him, among whom perhaps were conspicuous the *fossores* or grave-diggers who excavated the Christian catacombs and buried the Christian dead.

But besides male helpers the deacons had at their side the body of pious women known as deaconesses, who seem in part of their functions to have done for the early Church what the active orders of religious women do for the modern. From the earliest age of the Church appears the intimate connection of virginity and consecration to God's service, and the deaconesses were composed of the two classes of widows and virgins, the word widow being often applied to virgins as widowed to the world and betrothed to Christ.† As to real widows, we see from S. Paul's first epistle to Timothy (ch. v.) how some of them had broken their promise of not marrying again, and therefore the Apostle bids no widow aged less than sixty be chosen to be a deaconess. In later times forty was fixed as the lowest age.‡

Such were the official helpers of the bishop in the work of serving the poor and distressed. They did not exclude the co-operation of charitable laity, as we shall see, nor again did they take from the bishop all charitable labour, much less all responsibility, but rather they worked with him and under him, and it was he who had the final decision in all cases, and in one branch of charity, namely, hospitality, much of the actual administration.

From the charitable funds and the managers let us turn to the works of mercy themselves. Conspicuous was the visiting of the poor at their homes by the deacons and deaconesses, searching out those in distress, giving them material help as well as comfort and advice, examining the cause of their distress, and seeing that the relief given was well used.§ By this personal contact with the poor by men and women who loved them and were fit for the delicate work of bestowing relief, this could be apportioned to the special needs of each case. Particular care was to be paid to widows;|| help was to be given to all who through sickness or any other cause were unable to support themselves; the insufficient earnings of

* Northcote, l.c., p. 85. Morris, l.c., p. 220.

† See *Histor.-pol. Blät.*, l.c. pp. 883—884. Cf. Chastel, pp. 102—103.

‡ Besides strictly charitable functions, the deaconesses had to act as portresses at the women's entrance to the churches, to keep order among the women during the Divine office, to transmit to the women the orders of the bishop, and to help them at the ceremonies of baptism, after having sometimes instructed them in the rudiments of the faith. See Wetzer's and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, s.v. *Diaconissae*.

§ Ratzinger, p. 44.

|| Ibid. p. 47.

those whom God had blessed with large families were to be supplemented.* The Apostolic Constitutions (iv. 2) direct the bishop, among other things, to afford work to workmen,† and to get orphan boys taught a trade, that they may learn to support themselves. Similarly in the first of the decretal letters of St. Clement,‡ the priests are directed, among other things, to seek out some honest livelihood for those who do not know a trade, and to see to getting work for artificers. Such exertions were especially needful because the Church forbade strictly the practice by Christians of a great number of trades connected with immorality, cruelty, or heathen worship; and for the converts quitting these trades a new employment had to be found, and help given till they could support themselves.§ A list or register (*canon, matricula*) of all the poor was kept; and as a sign of how generous and well managed the service of the poor was, at any rate in Rome, may be taken the statement of Pope Urban I. (A.D. 226—233), that in his time no Christian at Rome was reduced to beg.|| Another and an excellent testimony to the almsgiving among the Christians of Rome is to be found in the well-known history of St. Lawrence during the persecution under Valerian (A.D. 257), a history that gives us fresh reason to lament the destruction of the early Christian records in the tenth persecution.¶ We see the double treasure of the Church, a multitude of poor served with generous love, and splendid ornaments and vessels—gold and silver set with jewels—fit for the celebration of the Divine sacrifice; as if to tell us that there is no contradiction between these two treasures, and that splendour of external worship will not lessen the share of the

* Ratzinger, p. 50.

† *παρέχοντες . . . τεχνίτη ἔργον.*

‡ S. Clem. I. *Opera Dubia. Epistolæ decret. i.* ed. Migne, Series Græca. tom. 1. p. 467. Though unauthentic, the letter may perhaps be taken as illustrating some of the customs of the early Church.

§ See Allard, "Les Esclaves Chrétiens," pp. 386—388. A list of some thirty forbidden trades is given in the Apostolic Constitutions (viii. 32.) We get some idea of the heavy yoke of superstition, and the multitude of parasite employments from the fact that specific mention is made of the following personages: the magician, the soothsayer, the astrologer, the diviner, the singer of magic verses, the amulet-maker, the performer of magical purifications, the augur, the shewer of omens, the interpreter of palpitations, the foreteller through observing faults in the eyes or feet, the interpreter of the flight of birds or flies, the interpreter of voices or symbolical noises. Modern China presents a curious likeness in the multitude of its ministers to superstition; and it does not seem unlikely that European countries, abandoning Christianity, may sink into the same degrading servitude.

|| Chastel, p. 105. Möhler, "Hist. de l'Eglise," I. p. 642 (French ed.)

¶ On this destruction see Champagny, p. 132.

poor, but that much rather the same love which prompts the faithful to adorn God's house will clothe and feed God's poor, and that these will not fail to suffer if, among a wealthy body of Christians, the fabric and functions of the Church are reduced to so-called apostolic simplicity and poverty.* S. Lawrence filled the post under Pope S. Xystus of the first among the deacons, and had the charge of the double treasure of the Church, her riches and her poor. Familiar to us is the beautiful history† how, in the persecution of Valerian, Pope Xystus, being led to execution, bade his deacon distribute all the riches of the Church to anticipate the heathen spoliation; how S. Lawrence made haste to distribute among the widows and orphans both the money in his hands and what he obtained from the sale of the sacred vessels; how, brought before the prefect of Rome, and bid deliver up the riches of the Church, he asked three days to collect a treasure of hers surpassing the treasure of the Emperor; how, in the interval which was granted, he went round among the poor, with whom none were so well acquainted as he, and on the third day gathered a number of them in rows before the Church, the decrepit, blind, lame, maimed, lepers, orphans, widows, virgins; how, to the astonished prefect, whom he had led to see them, he said some words like these: Behold the treasures I promised to shew you; behold our precious stones, our widows and virgins; these are the jewelled adornment of the Church. "This language," says Champagny,‡ "fully expressed the mind of the Church; thus no martyrdom has been more famous than that of Lawrence, the treasurer of the poor; his gridiron has served as the model for palaces, and the Church has never repudiated the treasure which he boasted was hers."

Besides visiting and relieving the poor at their homes, the deacons had, as another charitable function, to control and direct the *agapæ*, or love-feasts. In the first fervour and special circumstances of the Church at Jerusalem the common meals were held daily (Acts 11, 46; vi. 1), but less often afterwards, though often enough to be a real help to the poor, the rich bringing the food which was then eaten in com-

* It would have been well if this truth had been recollected by Ratzinger. Is not his suggestion, that the quadripartition of Church property was called for to meet the neglect of the poor, and extravagant pomp of the Roman bishops, in the second half of the fourth century, to be dismissed as grounded on untrue notions? Before his perverse tribunal I fear even the sainted Popes of the third century would be found guilty of "Luxus."

† Butler, "Lives of the Saints," Aug. 10th.

‡ "Charité Chrét.," p. 129.

mon. The *agape* were at first in immediate connexion with the holy sacrifice which itself had been instituted at a meal of love. They were begun with prayer, continued amid the singing of psalms, and finished with the kiss of peace.* They were a bond of union between rich and poor, and this important feature still remained in the later portion of the age of persecution. Then, indeed, they were no longer in immediate connexion with the holy sacrifice, and were given on various occasions by individual rich persons; but they still bore the character of a common meal, and were not, as in subsequent times, a mere banquet given by the rich to the poor. They were under the direction of the deacons, who indicated the persons to be invited; there was a special place and privileged part for the bishop, the priest, and the deacon.† Tertullian in his "Apology" describes the beautiful order of these Christian feasts:—

Nothing that is mean or immodest finds admission; they take not their place for the meal till they have tasted of prayer to God; they eat what is enough to satisfy hunger; they drink as much as is fit for the chaste. They are satisfied as those who remember that even through the night they have to pray to God; they converse as those who remember that the Lord hears them. After water for the hands and lights are brought, as each is able from Holy Scripture or his own heart, he is called on to sing publicly to God; in this way is proved in what manner he has drunk. It is again prayer which ends the feast; whence they go not in bands for riot and violence and lasciviousness, but with a care for modesty and chastity as though they had been fed with pious instruction rather than with food." ("Apol." 39.)

Another and an important field for the charity of the Church, and one in which the deaconesses were conspicuous, was the care for foundlings and orphans. I cannot do better here than cite a passage from M. Allard's work on Christian slaves:—

Whilst she [the Church] restored marriage and the family, and by a beneficent spread of her ideas brought by degrees the pagans themselves to consider the exposure of children as a crime. . . . She sent legions of apostles of charity to help the unfortunates who were abandoned. . . . At all times the adoption of orphans was recommended to the faithful. The Apostolic Constitutions (iv. 1) say: "When a Christian child, boy or girl, is left an orphan, it is a good work if a brother without children adopt this child and treat it as his own. . . . And if a rich man despise the orphan who is a member of the Church,

* Ratzinger, p. 3.

† Champagny, "Char. Chrét.," pp. 73—302.

the Father of orphans and Judge of widows will watch over the child, and there shall fall upon the rich man one who shall consume what he has stored up, and there shall come upon him as has been written: "What the saints have not eaten the Assyrians shall devour."* If the adoption of baptised children was recommended in such pressing terms, how much more would Christians feel themselves urged to gather up the children exposed by pagan barbarity, since these had to be saved not merely from misery and privations, but from the dogs, from the birds of prey, from what was worse, from those foul beings who took them to train them with infernal art for infamous employments and to make profit later on from their strength or beauty. An abandoned infant brought in by the pity of the faithful was a soul conquered for the true faith, and perhaps one less gladiator, eunuch, or courtesan. Tertullian shows us the Christians practising with ardour this ambulant charity, *prætereunte misericordia*. How often the pallium of the priest, the veil of the deaconess, the tunic of a humble Christian, would bear in its folds a poor being rescued from the teeth of a cruel beast, perhaps the unknown heir of some great Roman family found in the dark at the gate of a palace. Like the prayers which Homer represents following the steps of Injustice, Christian charity repaired as far as it could the cruelties of pagan egotism. Often it transformed the barbarity which the child had endured into a temporal and spiritual benefit. A great number of Christians in the early centuries were foundlings brought up by charity in the Church. On the marbles of the Catacombs, where the designation of the servile condition of the deceased is scarce ever seen, the word *alumnus* is often met with; and in the thoughts of Christians doubtless lost its sense of slave, and recalled only the idea of charitable adoption. A great number of Christians of the early centuries bear the name of Projectus, Projecta, Projectitus, that is, exposed, abandoned, in most cases a humble record of their origin. We can say that at this time the greater number of exposed children were collected by the charity of the faithful, and thus became Christians. "We spend more in alms in the street," said Tertullian to the pagans, "than you spend in offerings in the Temples" (*Plus nostra misericordia insumit vicatim quam vestra religio templatim*. "Apol." 42). Among these alms in the streets the foremost and most precious was the adoption of abandoned children. ("Les Esclaves Chrétiens," pp. 368—370).

It will be remembered how Origen, after the execution of his father and the confiscation of his property, was received and excellently educated in the house of a Christian matron.†

The prisons were another field for Christian charity. Prisoners for the Faith were to be visited, and, as far as possible, given material help. The scoffer Lucian, in his tale of the adventures of the cynic Peregrinus, who pretended to be a

* This translation is more literal than M. Allard's.

† Ratzinger, p. 47, note 3.

Christian, is an excellent witness to Christian charity. He narrates how Peregrinus was imprisoned for his Christianity, and how the Christians, having failed to cause his escape, did all they could to assuage his captivity.

Immediately upon daybreak you could see waiting about the prison divers old widow women and young children; while Christian men of position used, by bribing the keepers, to sleep with him in the prison. Then various dishes were brought him, and religious conversation held with him, and this good fellow Peregrinus . . . was called by them a new Socrates. Moreover from the cities of Asia came delegates from the Christian communities to bring him help, to converse with him, and to console him. The moment such a case as this is publicly known their zeal is something incredible. In a word, they spare nothing (*ἀφείδουσι πάντων*). And thus Peregrinus received large sums from them under pretext of captivity, and made a good income by it. ("De Morte Peregrini," c. 12, 13.)

The prison discipline was evidently of a different kind from that of modern Europe, and was more like that of England before the time of Howard, or that of modern China, where friendless prisoners are almost starved, and where there is a wide field for the kind offices of friends and relatives.* Those condemned to work in the mines, and often dragged far from their homes, were in a condition especially wretched. The Christian communities shewed a touching and wonderful attention to them. Brethren were sent to them from the community where their home was, who followed them thousands of miles, sought them out, consoled them, encouraged them to endure, and brought them money and means of subsistence. From the West messenger deputies of this kind came as far as Pontus and Armenia, not shrinking from the many dangers of such a journey.† The letters of St. Cyprian are full of testimony to the courageous zeal that came to the help of the confessors of Christ. From his place of exile or concealment he sent his deacons and acolytes to bear to his suffering brethren material relief, consolation, exhortations, and petitions for prayers. (Champagny, pp. 133, 134.)

Another great work was the redemption of captives, slaves, and debtors. We see that miracle of charity repeated in later ages of the Church, men selling themselves, giving themselves up to be hostages or slaves, in order to deliver their brethren who were slaves or prisoners. "We have known many of ours," wrote Pope S. Clement (Ep. I. ad Corinthios, 55) in the first century, "who have had themselves put in chains to redeem others; many have sold themselves into slavery and

* J. H. Gray, "China," ch. iii.

† Ratzinger, p. 48.

supported the poor with the proceeds of the sale" (Allard, l. c., p. 328). These, indeed, were instances of individual, not of collective, charity; but in several Christian communities slaves who were hindered in the exercise of their religion by their Pagan masters were ransomed at the cost of the common funds.* The ransom of prisoners of war had already in the age of persecution begun to be one department of charity; but we suppose that not till the next period in the history of charity, namely, the fourth and fifth centuries, or the age of the fathers, when the ravages of the barbarians were so frequent, it rose to be one of the chief and most pressing good works.

We now come to a work of charity which, if not peculiar to the early Church, was at least then of peculiar importance—namely, the harbouring of strangers, or Christian hospitality. The duty of hospitality so needful to a persecuted and missionary Church was strongly urged,† and not urged in vain.

"This care for strangers," says Champagny (*"Charité Chrét.,"* p. 311), "so much recommended by the Apostles, had been one of the most treasured traditions and indispensable institutions of the Christian Church. There was need that from one end of the world to the other she could see herself, understand herself, speak to herself; that in spite of distance, poverty, and persecution, the saints should ever find a refuge with the saints; and that this correspondence, secretly kept up in despite of tyrants, should, for the proscribed and fugitive Christian society, be like a permanent council."

To prevent this hospitality being abused by worthless vagabonds or by Pagan spies, the Christian traveller had to bear with him a sealed letter of recommendation from his own bishop. Sometimes when the letters had been counterfeited by heretics, a preconcerted sign was used instead. The bishop in this, as in the following period, had the special charge of hospitality and the duty of harbouring strangers. If he could not himself give them lodging, he directed them to various private houses where the faithful would gladly welcome these brothers in Christ, nor forget the words, "I was a stranger, and ye took me in." The dusty feet of the new-comer would be washed—this is what S. Paul calls washing the feet of the saints—he would be given the first place at table, and would be asked to join with the family in prayer. Among other witnesses to Christian hospitality we may notice once more Lucian (*"De morte Peregrini,"* c. 16) who tells how Peregrinus, having come out of prison and travelling about, was supported

* Ratzinger, p. 51. Cf. Allard, pp. 327, 328.

† Scripture and other references are collected by Champagny, p. 83, and Ratzinger, p. 26.

by the Christians, who supplied him with everything in abundance, and escorted him wherever he went. And Tertullian ("ad Uxor," ii. 4) objects to the marriage with a heathen husband as hindering, among other things, the reception of Christian strangers.

Another work of mercy was the burial of the dead. Tertullian places the burial of the poor among the charitable works on which the funds of the Church were expended,* and the touching designation of labourers or toilers (*κοπιῶντες, κοπιᾶται, laborantes*) was early applied to the buriers of the dead.† At Rome the *fossores* (or *fossarii*), that is, the excavators of the catacombs, were among the most faithful servants of the persecuted Church. "They were," says Dr. Northcote, "necessarily in the confidence of the Church's rulers; they knew the exact place of burial of each martyr and confessor, the time and places appointed for the celebration of the holy mysteries, and so forth." Their work was one of toil and danger, and they were supported during this period of persecution by the voluntary gifts of the faithful, and were reckoned among the "clerics." The whole work of the catacombs was carried on by the mutual liberality of the whole body of Christians, not by any regular charge for graves.‡ Though some of the Roman catacombs may have been the private work, and even remained the private property, of individuals or families, others, possibly from the first, certainly as early as the end of the second century, belonged to the Christian community collectively, and were administered for the general good by duly appointed officers or *quæstores*—an office filled by the deacons.§ The tender care of the Christians for both the living and the dead was conspicuous in the great plagues at Carthage and Alexandria in the third century. Eusebius cites a letter of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, describing the conduct of the Christians in that city during the great plague of the year 268:—

Many of our brothers in Christ, through their abundant charity, careless of themselves, careful for others, fearlessly took charge of the sick, tended them zealously, served them in Christ, and died with them joyfully. . . . Many also having nursed others and restored them to health, themselves died, shifting to themselves the death that else

* "Apol." c. 39: *Arcae genus quasi deposita pietatis inde dispensatur egenis humanis.*

† S. Ignat. Epist. (supposit.) "ad Antiochos" xii., ed. Migne, series Græca, tom. 5, pp. 907, 908 and note *ibid.* Cf. Tollemer, "Origines de la Char. Cath.," p. 131.

‡ Dr. J. S. Northcote, "The Roman Catacombs," p. 35, 36.

§ *Ibid.* p. 22.

had struck down those. . . . And in this manner the best of our brothers in Christ passed away, among them several priests and deacons, and among the people those in great esteem; so that this kind of death through the piety and steadfast faith displayed appears not at all inferior to martyrdom. And taking up the bodies of the saints with their open hands into their bosoms, they closed the eyes and mouth, and bore the corpses on their shoulders, and laid them out, and clung to them, and embraced them, and washed them, and adorned them; and then a little after received themselves the same offices, the survivors ever following those who had gone before. Quite other was the conduct of the Gentiles. They cast out those who began to be ill, and fled from those dearest to them, and cast them half-dead into the streets, or threw aside the dead unburied, shunning the communication and companionship of death, which in spite of all their precautions it was not easy to repel. (Eusebius, "Hist. Eccl." l. vii. c. 22.)

A glorious harvest of conversions was the result of this striking contrast between pagan self-seeking and Christian charity.*

We have already seen how the unity of the Church was expressed and aided by hospitality to strangers. Another bond was the help given by the richer and unstricken Churches to those in poverty or calamity. Early this good work began, and two notable cases are recorded, the one in the Acts of the Apostles, the other in the Epistles of S. Paul. In the first the Christians of Antioch sent help by the hands of Paul and Barnabas to famine-stricken Judæa (Acts xi. 27—30); in the second, about fifteen years later, S. Paul obtained from his Gentile converts large alms for the Church at Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 1—4; 2 Cor. viii.; ix. 1—8; Rom. xv. 26). Nor did this feeling of union in charity as well as in faith die away. Thus S. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, collected a great sum to be sent to the poor missions of Numidia, where they were unable to ransom their brethren in captivity. Ratzinger says:—

In this work [of helping other communities] stood conspicuous above all others the Roman Church, which bishop Dionysius of Corinth praised as having ever helped all Christians without distinction, and supported the communities of all countries. The same praise is repeated by bishop Dionysius of Alexandria in his well-known letter to Pope Stephen. By such works of love the individual communities, often far distant from one another, were intimately bound up together. Thus S. Basil relates that his Church in his time still gratefully remembered the help which once the Roman bishop Dionysius had sent to the poor communities to ransom their captive brethren from the barbarians. (51, 52).

This had been about a century before.

* Champagne, p. 145.

Our view would not be complete without a glance at private and individual, as opposed to collective, charity. The relief of one's family and servants is perhaps rather to be called piety than almsgiving; and S. Paul urges this as a most stringent duty: "If any one have not care of his own (τῶν ἰδίων) and especially of those of his house (τῶν οἰκείων), he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel" (1 Tim. v. 8). Ratzinger (p. 24) interprets as extending this duty to nearer relatives, the verse a little further on: "If any of the faithful have widows let him support them, and let not the Church be burdened, so that she may have enough for those who are really widows" (1 Tim. v. 16). As to individual almsgiving in the stricter sense, that is to others than one's relatives or dependants, an example is seen in the account of the charitable Dorcas in the ninth chapter of the Acts. Ratzinger thinks (p. 23, 24) that as long as the supernatural gifts lasted in the early days of the Church the care of the poor was left to individuals, there being a special charisma of relief (the ἀντιλήψεις, *opitulationes*, of 1 Cor. xii. 28). However this may be, there was perhaps always private visiting and relief of poor families by the side of the organised relief under the deacons and deaconesses. Thus Tertullian ("ad Uxor," ii. 4) speaks of the Christian wife going her rounds among the poorest houses. Such charitable visitors may indeed have been in correspondence with the deaconesses, and the intimate union among the Christians of that time would scarce allow much room for separate charitable action in the ordinary relief of the poor. A wider field for individual charity was offered by the ransom of captives, the release of debtors, and the liberation of slaves. And further, we may say that the success of some of the already mentioned works of mercy accomplished by the Church required the active co-operation of individual Christians, and not mere giving of alms, however abundant. The houses for the reception of strangers, foundlings, and orphans, which were so grand a feature in the next age of the Church, were impossible in an age of persecution. The bishops could lodge but a limited number of strangers; the deaconesses but a limited number of children; and the great duty of hospitality to strangers and care for foundlings and orphans would have been ill performed had not the mass of the richer Christians become themselves in person the servants of their poorer brethren. As it was, "every house was an hospice for strangers, a place where the poor and sick were cared for, an asylum for the persecuted, a home for children abandoned or orphans" (Ratzinger, p. 58). And the splendid spectacle of Christian charity was perhaps one of the most powerful causes of the spread of the Church.

Not indeed as though there were no abuses, no malversations, no hardheartedness. The Church was not composed of angels but of men, a truism sometimes forgotten. There was a slackening of zeal in the long peace before the persecution of Decius, and again before the persecution of Diocletian. The *agapæ* were not free from occasional abuses. Cyprian, Origen, and even the apostolic father Hermas, mention bishops who enriched themselves and neglected the widows and orphans; Origen makes the same charge against some deacons.* But we need not go beyond the New Testament itself to see nature asserting itself against grace. S. John was bid to write against the Church of Ephesus: "But I have against thee that thou hast left thy first charity" (Apoc. ii. 4). S. Paul rebukes the Corinthians for abuse of the *agapæ*, at which the rich seem to have eaten by themselves the food they brought, and left the poor to hunger and humiliation (1 Cor. xi. 21, 22-33). And at the very outset of the Church, we read in regard to the early love-feasts: "And in those days, the number of the disciples increasing, there arose a murmur of the Greeks against the Hebrews, for that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration" (Acts vi. 1.)

But these failings should be no cause of dismay to the friends or of triumph to the enemies of the Church. They do not destroy the general truth of the fervour of the Christians, the piety of the love-feasts, and the faithful distribution of the funds of the Church by the bishop and the deacons.† And the exceptional shortcomings may serve, though we lament them, to give us encouragement, showing that the early Christians were, after all, men like the Christians of the other ages of the Church, including our own; and we are thus deprived of the excuse for not imitating their zeal, that they lived in unattainable heights of the supernatural life. In reality, from the time of the apostles to the present day the Church has had to struggle against external persecution, against heresy and schism, and against the corruption of her own children. Nature and grace have ever been at war; and those who would exalt the age of the persecutions as a golden age of Christian perfection in contrast to mediæval corruptions, seem to us to be as wanting in the historical sense as those who can scarcely find

* Ratzinger, p. 45.

† Gibbon himself very fairly notes how "as long as the contributions of Christian people were free and unconstrained, the abuse of their confidence could not be very frequent," and how "the general uses to which their liberality was applied reflected honour on the religious society" (ch. xv. vol. iii. p. 200, ed. Smith).

any glory for God except in the "Ages of Faith" and under Gothic arches.* Justly it has been said :—

Judas among the apostles, Ananias and Sapphira among the saints of Jerusalem, Simon the magician among the first Gentile converts, the incestuous Christians of Corinth, Alexander, Hymenæus, and many others, doctors of lies, heresiarchs, deserters of the truth in the very bosom of the apostolic Churches, attest that inevitable imperfection of human nature which the purest law cannot purify entirely. (Champagny, "*Charité Chrét.*" p. 105, 106).

From the very nature, then, of the Church Militant we ought to have expected that her service of the poor would at all times display certain shortcomings, a sign of the human nature of her children; but that also at all times this service would be a sign of the divine nature of her Founder, and standing immeasurably above what was practised by aliens to the faith, would be a witness of the divine mission of the Church.

This brings me to the possible objection that I have suppressed the truth, and while exalting the Christians, have ignored the virtues and charity of the Pagans. At this charity let us then look; noting first that we should expect to find, even among the heathen, examples of charity, and in deed as well as in word.

"Assuredly," says Dupanloup ("*Charité Chrét.*" p. 48, 49), "I do not pretend that no noble words or generous sentiments or beneficent and helping actions can be found among the ancients. Far from me be it to deny these protests of the human conscience against the hardness and inhumanity of the manners of society, and to refuse these witnesses of the image of God ever remaining in man. This image, though horribly disfigured, never was and never could be effaced. Thus always there were pagans who were better than paganism, and often rays of a better day in this profound night. Just as reason was still sometimes lit up with admirable lights of truth, and the philosophers wrote what has been called the human preface of the Gospel, so, too, the heart of man has never been without noble accents, without some recollection of that natural law whose indestructible empire S. Paul proclaimed to the Romans themselves (Rom. ii. 14, 15); I will even say with some presentiment of Christian virtues."†

* Cf. Champagny, p. 155.

† Cf. his further remark l. c., p. 49. Non, nous ne réprouvons pas, sous le nom de paganisme, ce qui fut dans ces siècles anciens le suprême effort de l'humanité pour ressaisir le fil brisé des traditions anciennes, et retrouver la lumière que Dieu y faisait encore briller, comme un dernier et secourable reflet de sa vérité, afin de ne se pas laisser Lui-même sans témoignage dans le monde (non sine testimonio semetipsum reliquit, Act. xiv. 16). Cf. the recognition of the excellence of the doctrines and lives of some of the pagans by S. Justin ("*Apol.*" ii. 8—10.)

In the Gospels we read of the faith of the pagan centurion (Matt. viii.) and of the woman of Canaan (Matt. xv.); in the Acts (x.) of the prayers and almsdeeds of the pagan Cornelius. From the letters of Pliny the younger we learn that he founded at Como a perpetual rent in favour of fathers unable to support their infant children (Ep. v. 7), and that he incited his fellow-citizens to open schools, and promised to pay one-third of the of the expenses (Ep. iv. 3). A few pagan inscriptions record charitable bequests.

"One," says Dr. Northcote, "is of . . . an apothecary who leaves to his son-in-law (who was in the same way of business) . . . about £50 and 300 pots of his drugs and sweetmeats . . . in order that medical treatment may be supplied gratuitously to his poor and sick fellow-townsmen (*ægris inopibus*). A lady of Terracina founds an institution in memory of her son, in which 100 boys and girls are to be fed for ever, each going out as soon as he has attained a certain age—the boys at 16, the girls at 14—and all vacancies to be filled up at once, so that the number may always remain complete. And a gentleman of Atina . . . leaves in like manner about £3000 for the maintenance of the children of his fellow-townsmen until they came of age, when they are to be sent out into the world, each with the sum of about £8."*

If the mass of such donations were due to the desire of flattering the emperors by imitating them, or of expiating previous extortions,† we may hope that some were due to benevolence; and also that perhaps some higher motive than mere political calculation may have induced the emperors to make sacrifices out of their private property, as Antoninus Pius allaying a scarcity by purchasing provisions at his private cost, or Marcus Aurelius selling the imperial ornaments and works of art to

* Northcote, "Epitaphs of the Catacombs," pp. 146, 147. He well notes the absence of genuine love for the poor. As to two other pagan inscriptions, the one in Asia Minor speaking of the deceased as "loving the poor for the sake of piety," *τὸν πτωχοῦς φιλέοντα ἐνεκεν ἐνσεβείης*, the other on the Via Appia of one "good, merciful, loving the poor" (*boni, misericordis, amantis pauperis [=pauperes]*), he notices how they are quite exceptional, and how the Greek one, admittedly of the second or third century, may have been due to Christian influences (*ib.* pp. 146—149). We may remark that M. Gaston Boissier in his interesting work, "La Religion Romaine," seems to exaggerate the importance of the acts of benevolence recorded among the pagans in the second century, and, in general, to give rather a varnished account of "la société romaine au temps des Antonins." That instances of benevolence can exist amid prevailing cruelty, corruption, and immorality, is shewn by the example of modern China, which seems to have many striking resemblances to pagan Rome under the Antonines.

† Alex. Monnier, "Hist. de l'Assistance Publique," pp. 146—148.

obtain funds for public needs without raising the taxes, or Alexander Severus refilling at his own cost the public granaries that had been emptied by his predecessor.* But if among the pagans there were some donations springing from a good motive, have we not to look in vain for any band of devoted men and women to give personal service to the poor, and to be fit distributors of these donations? And the general condition of the pagan world as to charity may be seen from the terrible rebukes of S. Paul, that they were filled with all iniquity . . . without affection, without fidelity, without mercy (i. Rom. 29—31), hateful, hating one another (Tit. iii. 3); or from the famous passage of Tertullian ("Apol." 39) where, after describing some of the works of Christian charity, he says: "The very exercise of such love has been made by some a reproach to us. See, they say, how these men love one another: but they hate one another; and see how these men are ready to die for one another: but they are more ready to slay one another." Not as though in the midst of this hatred vast sums were not expended upon the poor: a tremendous example to modern Europe of how the benefit of poor relief depends not upon the amount given, but upon the motives and manner of giving. Never, perhaps, was ostentatious liberality more frequent, and the State poor relief, of which I shall speak in a moment, was imitated by the rich.† First were the regular distributions of food and money to clients coming daily with their basket; then on all sorts of occasions were feasts or donations; lastly, were numerous gifts or legacies to towns for the gratuitous supply of baths, porticos, theatres, theatrical performances, and the like. One noteworthy example of such donations was that of Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, who opened in Rome 170 thermæ, where the plebs could bathe gratis during his edileship.

These gifts by individuals were indeed for the most part nominally free;‡ but there was also a system of compulsory poor relief; and the republican and imperial largesses may be compared to the English poor rates in the greatness of the expenditure and the number of the recipients. The limits of this paper forbid any detailed account of these largesses even in the

* Ratzinger, pp. 43—45—52.

† We follow the account of the public and private largesses given by Allard, "*Les Esclaves Chrét.*," liv. i. ch. i.

‡ But the law intervened between the patron and his clients, and fixed the daily sum of money or ration of food these were to receive, and how much was to be secured to them after the death of the patron. Chastel, p. 348. Naudet, in "*Académie des Inscriptions*," tome xiii. pp. 82, 83; 89, 90.

period I am considering. It will be enough before speaking of their general character to class them, like the private donations, under three heads. First we see the regular distributions of corn to the Roman free proletariat, the number of recipients varying perhaps in the time between Augustus and Constantine from 150,000 to 300,000. Aurelian changed the form of the distribution from a monthly dole of corn (five modii) to a daily dole of two pounds of bread. Secondly, besides these ordinary, were frequent extraordinary distributions of corn, bread, oil, meat, wine, and money, as well as public feasts. Thirdly, immense sums were spent upon baths, circuses, and theatres, open without payment, and upon magnificent performances. The expense of the amphitheatre may be gathered from the fact that Marcus Aurelius, though praised as very sparing in largesses, yet gave such splendid spectacles, that one day in a single contest in the circus a hundred lions fell pierced with arrows.*

"Thus," says M. Allard, "in fête after fête, in surprise after surprise, is passed the life of the Roman proletaire. He leaves in the morning the little room which he rents by the day or the month in the top story of some tall house in the Suburra, if he is not lodged gratuitously by some rich or generous patron. He then goes from palace to palace presenting his *sportula*, which is returned to him full of provisions and money. When it is time, he takes his *tessera* to the dispenser of public wheat. Some rich person with whom he is connected as client, invites him to one of those repasts by which all sad or joyful circumstances were celebrated, as the anniversary of a death or of a birth, or a funeral, a marriage, the ceremony of taking an office, the inauguration of a monument. When the hour for bathing has come, he hastens to the free baths. He takes his sleep under some marble portico, exposed to the gentle rays of the setting sun. Then he finishes his day at the theatre, or the circus, or the Coliseum, where at the expense of some rich man some hundred gladiators kill themselves for his amusement. When he returns at night to his little lodging, he may say to himself, more happy than Titus: 'I have not lost my day;' and he can certainly add: 'It has cost me nothing.'" ("Les Esclaves Chrétiens," p. 40, 41.)

And now a word on the general character of this poor relief, which differed so strikingly from the Christian poor relief described above.† Instead of favouring the true and honest poor, and being a means for men and women, servants of God and lovers of the poor, to exercise a beneficent moral influence, the pagan largesses were in their way as indiscriminate and as demoralising as the English workhouse; indiscriminate, as given without

* Jul. Capitol. in Antonin. Philos. 17—23. Monnier, "Hist. de l'Assistance Publique," p. 47.

† This difference marked by Chastel, pp. 333—349, seq.

regard to the character of the recipient, the same (Cf. Seneca "De Benef." v. 10) for the thief, the adulterer, and the perjurer, as for the honest man; if any favour, it being to the importunate, the seditious, and the skilful intriguer; demoralising both as being indiscriminate, and as being in some of its leading forms, namely the feasts, the gladiatorial combats, and the theatrical shows, a direct incitement to waste of time, or luxurious extravagance or cruelty or immorality; demoralising also, at least as regards much of the private largesses, both to givers and receivers, as being bought at the price of degrading humiliations; unlike the honour and respect paid by the Christians to those in need;* dividing not uniting rich and poor; awakening no gratitude; given not for the love of God, scarcely even from the motive of philanthropy, but rather from vanity, ambition, or fear; "a ransom paid to poverty by wealth in order to be left undisturbed" (Chastel, p. 15), not loving service to a brother in need. And then, the public distributions differed from the Christian relief of the poor in being compulsory, not free. Vast sums were drawn from the provinces to pay the degraded populace of Rome. It was one of the secrets of the imperial policy—one of the *arcana imperii*—that the rabble should dine well, based on the truth that nothing could be more gay than the *populus Romanus* after a good meal,† and on the other less pleasant truth that the plebs, when hungry, was afraid of nothing.‡ And their character of compulsoriness, that is, of being based on the forced contributions of the subjects of the emperor, vitiates some of the imperial liberalities which in themselves were commendable, as the foundations made by Trajan and other emperors for the support of poor children,§ and perhaps the "gratuitous" schools of Alexander Severus (Monnier, p. 51, 52). Whereas the Christian poor were helped, the Christian orphans reared, by funds not extorted from the sweat of the slave and the privations of the

* So Tertullian ("Apol." 39) contrasts the conduct of the Christians at the *agapæ* with that of the pagans, to whom he says: "not as you feed your parasites who are eager for the glory of surrendering their liberty for the hire of taking their fill amid insults—not thus do we feed our poor, but as those whom God regards all the more from their being of low condition (sed qua penes Deum major est contemplatio mediocritum.)"

† Neque populo romano satura quicquam potest esse lætius. Vopiscus, Aurel. 47. Allard, l.c., p. 45.

‡ Nescit plebs jejuna timere. Lucan. See Monnier, l.c., p. 55–59; 62, 63.

§ On these *pueri alimentarii* see Allard, p. 79, seq. Monnier, p. 141, seq. See also Boissier "Relig. Rom." ii. p. 211, 212, who notices how the institution was intended to encourage population, and was according to Pliny the completion of the laws of Augustus on marriage.

peasant, but drawn from the pure source of free charity; and the work was done, not by officials and hirelings, but by those to whom the service of the poor was an honour and a joy. As one more difference we may notice that, unlike the universality of Christian charity, the pagan poor relief was marked by the exclusion of the great mass of suffering humanity; and the free taxpayers who really worked, as well as the immense multitude of slaves throughout the empire, had to toil all the harder in order that the free proletariat of certain towns might indulge their idleness, lasciviousness, and cruelty.

And now, I think, I can no longer be charged with ignoring the pagan poor relief. We have seen its work in the period under review, and I may add that in the next period, the age of the fathers, it exhibited a similar inefficiency, a similar contrast to the glorious work of Christian charity.

In conclusion, though averse from historical generalisations, I will venture to suggest one. May not the varieties of poor relief be reduced to the three kinds that follow? The first is Catholic Charity, the perfect form, as far as human nature will allow, wherein the poor are honoured, their service held a privilege, the interior disposition of the servers not ill expressed by that external attitude of S. Paul of the Cross, who used, while a poor man ate the food he had brought to him, to kneel humbly at his feet; a poor-relief based on the following among other passages of Scripture: "See that you despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. xviii. 10).* "One is your father who is in heaven . . . and all you are brethren . . . my brethren" (Matt. xxiii. 9, 8; xxviii. 10). "As long as you did it to one of these the least of my brethren you did it unto me" (Matt. xxv. 40)† How this first kind of poor relief was practised in the early ages, we have seen in this paper. How it is practised to-day, even amid the blight of an heretical country, may be seen by looking at the life of the Sisters of Charity, the little Sisters of the Poor, and many others in our midst. The second kind of poor relief may be called religious charity, and has various degrees of excellence. It is based either on natural religion and primitive tradition, or on fragments of revelation, as the relief of the poor by the Jews and by heretics and schismatics. Even that by Mahometans may, perhaps, be partly based on

* This text is placed by Champagny on the title page of his book on Christian charity.

† These texts (besides others) are noticed by Dupanloup, *Chrétienne*, p. 108—110.

revelation, as they have borrowed, I believe, much from Christianity. I do not now purpose to compare with Catholic teaching and practice the way in which the poor are regarded and treated in the religious bodies outside the Church, nor to speak of the lack there of devoted lovers and servants of the poor, as distinct from those who merely pity and give; nor to emphasise the immeasurable distance at which this simple religious charity lies below Catholic charity; but rather to emphasise the immeasurable distance at which even this relief is raised above the third kind. And this third kind may be called by its supporters civilised, or lay, or liberal, or unsectarian, but I will call it irreligious poor-relief, or mock charity. I have not now to discuss the attitude of the so-called "modern state" and "modern thought" towards charity and the poor, and will only say that the godless poor-relief of modern times seems to me a reversion to evil principles of past times; that it bears a significant resemblance to the pagan poor-relief in the vast sums spent and the vast demoralisation caused; and that like the repulsive figure of the idle and dissolute proletaire of Rome, so the modern pauper of the workhouse and vagrant of the casual ward are dreadful witnesses to the truth, that when God is put aside, and men take on themselves to arrange the world according to their liking, and to confine supernatural motives to the supernatural world, if indeed there be one, then ill fares it even in this world with the poor.

C. S. DEVAS.

ART. III.—THE WORK AND WANTS OF THE
CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

1. *Le Grand Péril de l'Eglise de France.* Par M. l'Abbé BOUGAUD, Vicaire-Général d'Orléans. Paris: Poussielgue Frères. 1878.
2. *History of the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in England.* By the Lord Bishop of BIRMINGHAM. Burns and Oates. 1871.

SIXTEEN years ago the *Dublin Review* began its second series. The first number contained an article on "The Work and Wants of the Church in England." Sixteen years are half a generation: and we may without impropriety at the opening of a third series of the *Dublin Review* once more survey our work and wants.

In doing so it will not be amiss to have before us the state of
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the Church in France at this time as given in the work of Abbé Bougaud, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Orleans. It describes to us the condition, momentary it is to be hoped, of one of the oldest and maturest Churches of Europe on a subject which is most vital to the Catholic Faith, its vocations to the priesthood; and it is therefore full of instruction to us, who are the youngest and least mature of the Churches of the West.

Abbé Bougaud's book treats chiefly, it may be said exclusively, of the state of the priesthood and of the pastoral office: that is, of the sacerdotal vocations, and of the cure of souls. On this one point the health and vigour of the Church depends. It is this one point also on which the restored Church in England has need to fix its chief efforts.

What Abbé Bougaud describes as the chief peril to the Church in France is the chief need of the Church in England: and yet, as we shall see, that there is no peril in this need, but only a want that is being steadily and surely supplied.

But first we will give an account of Abbé Bougaud's book.

The "*Grand Péril*" opens with a remarkable passage of Comte de Maistre, who, at the beginning of this century, wrote as follows: "The priesthood ought to be at this moment the sovereign care of the social order which is endeavouring to renew itself. Let the higher classes offer their sons to the altar, as in times past. Let them render to the Church in dignity and wealth that which they have received themselves." "If I had before me the description of the ordinations to the priesthood, I should be able to foretell great events."

Abbé Bougaud then proceeds to offer proofs of the diminished number of vocations to the priesthood; and affirms that this evil is steadily increasing, and invading the most favoured dioceses. But he adds that this does not arise in truth from a diminution of vocations on God's part, which are always and everywhere abundant, but from the want of care, and culture, and piety on the part of parents and of others. One powerful cause which deters parents from encouraging and confirming the desire of their sons to become priests, is the life of poverty, solitude, and suffering to which a priest is doomed. These discouragements are at present in great activity and force throughout France. The priesthood is the object of constant menace and slander. Parents, therefore, so far from encouraging the vocation of their sons, often directly discourage and even destroy them. The consequences of this diminution in the sacerdotal vocations are manifold: all the chief offices of the Church are thereby weakened, such as the pastoral care of the country districts, and also of the towns, the work of missions, of study, and of teaching. Abbé Bougaud points out that from

this cause the defence of religion, and the daily press, have passed into the hands of the laity. If he means to the exclusion of the clergy, without doubt it is an evil, not so much because the laity should become defenders of the Faith, as because the clergy ought to be so in an especial degree. He then goes on to show the bearing of this upon education: because it renders the finding and the forming of professors every day more difficult: also upon the propagation of the Faith, the ecclesiastical discipline, and the evangelisation of France. Of this he says: "Our population is not hostile to religion: they are ignorant of it: they live bowed down to the earth. You speak to them, but they do not understand. The weight of three or four generations who have lived without God weighs upon them."*

He then enters upon an examination of the causes of this evil, and says: "There would have been one remedy for this mournful state of things, namely, that the richer classes, the *noblesse*, the middle class, those commonly called the governing classes, should enter the priesthood, and bring into it their name, their fortune, their education, their knowledge of the world. For sixty years the greatest minds and the greatest bishops have been calling to them without making them hear."† The causes of this Abbé Bougaud finds in three things: first, "the deplorable habit of the aristocratic families to bring up their sons to do nothing;" secondly, in the religious indifference of the middle class; in a moral abasement; and in both classes, high and low, a systematic sterility. As to the first cause, he says: "They become neither soldiers, nor magistrates, nor priests. What, then, are they? They do not serve their country in the ministry of the sword, nor in the ministry of justice, nor in the ministry of the altar. For what, then, will they be fit? Let unexpected events come upon them, and take them unawares, they will be found wanting."‡ Of the indifference of the middle class, he says: "How shall priests come forth from such homes where God is despised, or mocked, or absent? Alas, not even Christians come out of them! At fifteen years old the child drops the hand of his mother, even the most tenderly loved, and goes to swell the ranks of the indifferent."§ "The question of the middle class is the great question of this age. If warned by the lightning which foreruns the storm, they return to God; then all the governing classes united together, the *noblesse* and the *bourgeoisie*, industry and commerce, the greater and the lesser proprietors, the

* "Le Grand Péril," p. 70.

† Ib., p. 73.

‡ Ib., p. 80.

§ Ib., p. 83.

people may be brought back, who now are wandering, and, being astray, will, like children or madmen, break all things in their fury. But if, on the other hand, the *bourgeoisie* is obstinate, we must wrap our mantle about us and let the storm pass over. It will be terrible.”* After a strong appeal to these classes, Abbé Bougaud points to the seventeenth century, and says: “At that time, there was nothing more despised than the priesthood. People were ashamed to have a priest in their family. All at once there appeared three men of gentle birth, followed soon by a multitude of others: M. de Berulle, F. de Condren, M. Olier. They began by showing themselves every Sunday at the services of the parish church. They fulfilled the humblest duties; they carried the holy water or the torches; they brought the cruets to the altar; they were exact in wearing the ecclesiastical habit. Soon arose the ordination retreats; when Bossuet listened to S. Vincent of Paul, Cardinal de Berulle, and, still more, F. de Condren, raised the idea of the priesthood to its greatest height. M. Olier founded seminaries, and gave the definitive form to the priesthood of France. The movement spread to the provinces; everywhere men of gentle birth arose, sons of functionaries and councillors of parliament, who desired as an honour the character of priesthood, so despised five-and-twenty years before, of which the greatest men did not then count themselves worthy.” “The other day,” he says, “I saw a young lady of great name, and of a brilliant fortune. She said, ‘I pass in my family for slightly mad, for I have only one son, and I say openly that I should be proud if God could have him for His service. People say to me, “What are you thinking of? You have him only, and he is necessary for the keeping up of the name;” and I say, “What more beautiful lot than for a family to extinguish itself at the foot of the altar. We shall come to an end sooner or later. In three hundred years who will remember the Counts of —? They will have disappeared: and who knows? perhaps less to their honour.’”†

Abbé Bougaud then turns to the remedies for this evil. He classes them as follows: First, as it is God who calls men to the priesthood, we must pray to Him for vocations; next, we must carefully and religiously search out the germs of them in youths and boys. This duty chiefly and primarily rests on fathers and mothers, and after parents it rests upon priests, and after priests it rests on every Christian who loves God and the Church.

He then passes to the means whereby such vocations may be

* “Le Grand Pêril,” p. 83.

† *Ib.*, pp. 91, 92.

unfolded and sustained. The first is the "*Ecole Presbytérale*" the priest's house. He mentions an aged Canon of Orleans, who said, "I am eighty-three, and shall soon die. I have not done all the good I would. But one thing consoles me, I leave behind thirty-three priests, whom I have formed, and they will do better than I have done." Another priest, on the jubilee of his priesthood, was surrounded by more than twenty priests who had in like manner been formed by him. He was a disciple of the aged Canon of Orleans, who on the day of his ordination said to him, "Always have pupils in your presbytery. You will be their angel, and they will be yours."

The next chief means of developing vocations is the formation of the Lesser Seminaries. It is found that wheresoever these exist vocations multiply, when they are absent vocations are wanting. The first act of the bishops who, after the great Revolution had passed away, returned to their dioceses, was to establish seminaries. So great was their poverty that their only schools were held in houses, damp, dark, and over-crowded. The boys used to bring their dinners. The professors received no stipend. One of them after three years of work received a copy of Fleury's "*Ecclesiastical History*." But this was the beginning of the movement which has spread so widely throughout France.

Vocations began to multiply: but in the year 1830 the lesser seminaries, which till then received clerics only according to the decree of the Council of Trent, were unable to resist the urgent prayers of Catholic parents to receive their sons as the only way to save them from the State lycées and colleges, which were corrupt both in faith and morals. But this change was fatal to many vocations. The students came out of them Christians indeed—avocats, physicians, notaries—but not priests. In one lesser seminary, which used to have from eighty to a hundred clerics, the number fell to twenty-two; in another, out of forty-four only four persevered. In one ecclesiastical college of four hundred, in ten years there was one solitary vocation.

Abbé Bougaud then passes to the Greater Seminaries, and shows how the Government has suppressed even the burses in seminaries held by congregations.

Finally, he urges the foundation of burses and half-burses by the generosity of the faithful, and proposes the formation of an *œuvre des Vocations Ecclésiastiques* as a third obligation following the *œuvre* of the Denier de S. Pierre, and that of the Propagation de la Foi.

These are briefly the contents of Abbé Bougaud's able and timely book.

And such is the estimate of Abbé Bougaud as to the present state of the Church in France. Surrounded as he is with the

political and social evils of his country, it is no wonder if he be depressed even out of measure. But looking upon the great Church in France as we can do from a distance, we are perhaps able to measure more justly the magnitude of its position and its power. When we compare its present state with its condition under Louis XIV. or Louis XV., or in 1789, or again in 1815, or in 1830, we have no hesitation in declaring our belief that it is more independent, more united, more pure, and therefore more powerful, than at any of these five periods. No one who has read M. Gérin's account of the Church in France in 1662, in his "*Recherches historiques sur l'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682*,"* or its condition in 1789 as given by M. Taine, in his "*Origines de la France Contemporaine*,"† will doubt this for a moment. Take as proof the close union of the great episcopate of France with the Holy See at this day: its compact unity in itself; the quality of its forty thousand priests; its numerous and multiplying seminaries, greater and lesser; its lay colleges of every class; its multitude of religious bodies of men and women, more numerous than even in the height of its prosperity before the first great Revolution; the spreading return of faith, and of practical religion among men of every class; all these are evidence of a health and vigour not to be found in the former periods of the French Church. The warfare of the Revolution with its indifference and its unbelief against faith and the Church, is certainly more keen than it was. But the French Church has weathered worse storms than this, and has come out purified and strengthened by the conflict. Moreover, the chief subject of Abbé Bougaud's fears would not seem to be so menacing as he believes. That in many dioceses there is a lack of priests is not to be denied: but that the number of vocations to the priesthood in France is on the decline, has been denied by responsible witnesses in the dioceses of Périgueux, Cambrai, and Meaux, which were coloured in Abbé Bougaud's map as examples of this decline. The impression made by Abbé Bougaud's statements would rather be that, at this moment, exceptional causes are producing as an exceptional state, that is, a momentary retardation in the steady increase of vocations, and in the number of the clergy, which, in the greater part of France, has been advancing from 1815 to 1870. This appears from the frequent use of the words "of late," and "for some years," and the like.‡ It is nothing less than a miracle of grace that the priesthood of the Church in France should have so steadily risen again through the poisoned atmosphere of an in-

* Paris: Lecoffre, 1869, *passim*. † Tom. i. liv. iii. c. 1, 2.

‡ "Le Grand Péril."

fidel empire, a Voltairian monarchy, and a public opinion perverted by the daily mockery and cynicism of the French journalists. If there be a momentary check, there is all reason to believe that the fervour of France will soon turn again to the priesthood and make up for a few years of a slackened zeal, "redeeming the time, because the days are evil." France has been passing through the fires of an inevitable and salutary purgation. A century of revolutions has burnt out to the roots the motives which once prompted men to seek the ecclesiastical state. The motives of this world exist no longer; the *Budget du Clergé* and the starvation of the priests in the provinces has certainly no temptation for worldly, ambitious, or covetous men. The pomp and state of the old hierarchy has been withered and seared by the mockery and contempt of a hundred years of infidelity. For a moment the multiplication of the labourers seems to be slackened. But the dignity and perfection of the priesthood, and the blessedness of a pastor's life, restored with apostolic poverty and purity, are too deeply impressed upon France for this momentary stay in the tide to last long. Priests and soldiers made Catholic France, and we might as soon believe that her armies would decline as that her priesthood would diminish.

We will now turn homeward to ourselves.

Sixteen years ago we noted five chief wants of the Church of England, as follows:—

1. Diocesan Seminaries according to the mind of the Council of Trent.
2. Middle class schools.
3. Higher studies for our laity.
4. Political education, practical efficiency and participation in the public affairs of the country for our laymen.
5. A college for foreign missions.

In many of these heads we may now give no unfavourable an account.

1. The decree of the Council of Trent prescribes that there shall be attached to every cathedral church a seminary, into which those who are destined for the priesthood shall be admitted from the age of twelve years. All that is required is that they shall be able competently to read and write, and that their character and disposition give hope of their perseverance in the ecclesiastical state. The Council prefers (*præcipue vult*) the sons of poor parents, but it does not exclude the sons of the rich if they will maintain themselves. It then enjoins, "In order that they may be the better trained in the same ecclesiastical discipline, they shall at once and always wear the tonsure and the habit of the clergy." Such were the Lesser Seminaries

in France before 1830, when, with the result we have already seen, they became mixed colleges. Now, until the last ten years, no such Tridentine seminary existed in England. The admission of lay students into our noble and excellent colleges of Ushaw, Oscott, and S. Edmunds, placed them outside of the Tridentine definition. Nevertheless the Church boys and Church students, after due probation, wore the cassock, and after years of probation were tonsured.

In France it would appear that in such mixed colleges vocations to the priesthood were notably extinguished by the spirit of the lay boys. In England it has not been so in the same degree. Many have been lost, but some have been gained. Whether the loss or the gain predominate it is not easy to say. But we must remember that the youths of France are the sons of fathers reared in traditions of unbelief, or, at least, of indifference. The youths of England are the sons of fathers who were under the penal laws. If our mixed colleges have not extinguished more vocations, it may perhaps be ascribed to a tradition of Catholic fervour kindled in times of persecution. Its continuance will depend on our fidelity; and, if lost, we may find ourselves as our brethren in France.

At this moment we possess no Lesser Seminary, according to the Council of Trent; but in the last ten years a notable progress in Greater Seminaries has been made. In 1868 the students in theology for the diocese of Westminster, with their professors, were removed from S. Edmund's College to the old Benedictine convent at Hammersmith: and a seminary, strictly so called, was founded. Soon after, the clergy and laity of the diocese of Birmingham made an offering to their bishop on the half-jubilee of his episcopate, by which was founded the seminary at Olton. The students in philosophy and theology were removed to it from S. Mary's, Oscott. The Bishop of Salford next founded a seminary attached to his own house and cathedral, in which ecclesiastical students may be trained, and priests before entering on the cure of souls may pass an additional year of training. The Bishop of Clifton has founded a seminary at Prior Park; the Bishop of Beverley at Leeds; the Bishops of Shrewsbury, Southwark, and Liverpool are already possessed of all, or nearly all, the means required, and are preparing to build. In ten years, therefore, five dioceses have founded seminaries either wholly, or almost wholly, in conformity with the Council of Trent. Three other dioceses are about to do the same.

A diocesan seminary is not only the necessary means to sustain and confirm the vocations of youth,—it generates and elicits them. When the parents and their sons see before their

eyes the diocesan seminary, and when they see the seminarists Sunday by Sunday in the sanctuary of the cathedral or in other churches of the diocese, it is certain that many hearts are drawn to desire the same grace. Already there is reason to believe that vocations have thus been multiplied; and among us vocations are steadily increasing. We have, indeed, no lack of vocations, but only of means to support them. In most dioceses in England the diocesan clergy have been doubled since the restoration of the hierarchy; and the number of the ecclesiastical students has also been either doubled, or very greatly increased.

The disposition to enter the priesthood on the part of educated men is becoming more marked year after year. Our higher families, and those of the middle class, have most of them sons or daughters or kindred among the priests and nuns of England. Our middle classes count it a happiness and an honour to have a son at the altar. And the aspiration of many a poor father and mother is being daily fulfilled in the ordination of some of our most refined and holy priests. This signal grace may indeed decline among us as elsewhere; but we have safeguards against so great a decline. In England and Ireland the Christian equality of classes checks the invasion of the spirit of caste. The son of the *vigneron* and the son of the *seigneur* are among our people neither *abbé* nor *abbate*, but plain father. We have no ecclesiastics up in balloons, but living and labouring in the midst of men on our common earth, and in daily contact and sympathy with the people. In no country is truer respect paid to the upper classes than in England. If they fail to receive it, they may thank themselves for the loss of it. But the priesthood is honoured by the Christian and Catholic instincts of this country, with a manly and dignified respect. The families who would not thankfully see a son at the altar are few.

2. Another manifest want of the Catholic Church in England was and is a supply of schools for the middle class. The need of providing schools for the poor was at the restoration of the hierarchy so urgent and so overwhelming, that though in the First Provincial Council of Westminster the wants of the middle class were expressly recognised, it was impossible to provide for them until the needs of the poor had first been met. To this work the bishops and clergy gave themselves with a great devotion, the result of which is that at this moment we possess some 1400 schools, with about 140,000 children in attendance. When it is remembered that in 1847, at the foundation of the Poor School Committee, all the Catholic poor schools known to exist in England were about three hundred, it can be no matter

of wonder that the formation of middle schools had not as yet been systematically undertaken. It is rather a cause of wonder and of thankfulness that so large and complete a system of poor schools should have been created in the last thirty years. Moreover, at that date the middle class, which is now multiplying daily, was only coming into existence. Between the rich and the poor there were individuals, but not classes. In the Catholic Church in England there were no gradations such as exist in the social order of the English people. It was with us, as it was in Ireland, where between the cities and the level of the people in villages, there were few lesser towns which in England keep up a continuity in the population, the education, and the wealth of the country. In all our large dioceses this middle class has been gradually forming, and though still not numerous, it is large enough to require a higher scale of education in separate schools. These now exist in almost every diocese, and in some they are already numerous. As the demand for higher education increases, our colleges rise to meet it. New schools on a lower level then spring up. Two schools are thus formed out of the upper and lower classes of one and the same college. What began as a Commercial College rises into a Classical College, and a middle school takes up its lower class. In one diocese alone there are thirteen middle schools, containing four or five hundred boys. They are examined every year by the diocesan inspector, and prizes are given on a public day to those who have gained them by competition.

3. Sixteen years ago the need of higher culture for our Catholic youth from eighteen to twenty-two years of age had forced itself upon our attention. It was alleged that our existing colleges did not provide it; and, by reason of the mixture of boys and youths, could not be made to provide it for young men. A desire then sprung up in some quarters to send their sons to the national Universities. The question was long and elaborately debated. In the *Dublin Review* of July, 1863, the arguments on either side of this question are briefly given. But the question was referred to the Holy See, from which the following decisions emanated:—

I. On December 13th, 1864, the assembled bishops of England declared (1) "that the establishment of Catholic colleges at the" Protestant "universities could in no way be approved;" and (2) "that parents were by all means to be dissuaded from sending their sons to the universities." On February 3rd, 1865, the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda wrote word, that "the Sacred Congregation had, after mature examination, confirmed the judgment of the bishops, as being in entire conformity with the principles which the said Congregation

had always laid down." And on March 24th the Bishops issued a circular letter, informing the clergy of these decisions.

II. On March 12th, 1867, the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda wrote to the Archbishop, stating "that the Sacred Congregation, by its resolution of December, 1866, with respect to the establishment of a community [the Oratory] at Oxford, had wished only to provide for the spiritual wants of the Catholics of that city; and not in any way to lessen the force of the declarations made by the Holy See* against the establishment of a college at Oxford, and against the dispositions of those who should desire a pretext for sending Catholic youths to study at that university." The Cardinal Prefect further directed the bishops to confer again on the subject, and to communicate with the Propaganda upon the measures to be taken for preventing Catholics from studying at Oxford.

III. On May 1st, 1867, the Bishops addressed a letter to the Propaganda, in which they confirmed their declaration of December 13th, 1864; and stated that they would wish to make known to the faithful, both by pastoral letters and indirectly through the clergy, the grave danger incurred by those who should enter the universities in spite of the admonition of their pastors. On August 6th the Cardinal Prefect wrote back, desiring the Bishops to address such pastoral letters as had been suggested. The Cardinal Prefect's letter included these words:—"You will clearly explain in your pastoral letter the doctrine of the Church on avoiding the proximate occasions of mortal sin; to which occasions no one without grievous sin can expose himself, unless under the pressure of grave and adequate necessity, and unless such precautions be taken as shall remove all proximate danger. And in the present case, where, as his Holiness has declared,† there is an intrinsic and very serious danger to purity of morals as well as to faith (which is altogether necessary for salvation), it is next to impossible to discover circumstances, in which Catholics could without sin attend non-Catholic universities."‡

IV. On September 19th, 1872, the Cardinal Prefect wrote to the English Bishops as follows, referring to the previous declaration of 1865:—"The declaration then given was founded on the grave dangers which the said universities presented. . . . Not only does the Holy See perceive no reason why it should recede from the aforementioned decision of 1865; but in proportion as the reasons which called forth that decision have increased in gravity, so much the more necessary does it appear that the decision should be maintained."

V. On August 12th, 1873, the English Bishops assembled in Pro-

* It will be observed that the Cardinal Prefect ascribes these declarations to "the Holy See" itself.

† Here again it will be observed that the declaration is ascribed to "his Holiness."

‡ We take the preceding documents from the Acts of the Westminster Diocesan Synod of 1872.

vincial Synod addressed a Pastoral Letter to the faithful, in which, not only they recite the above words of the Cardinal Prefect, but add that no Catholic parent can send his son to a Protestant university "without incurring grave sin."

The Holy See gave two injunctions to the Bishops in England : the one, that Catholic parents are to be restrained from sending their sons to the national universities; the other, that they should take steps so to raise the higher studies in our existing colleges as to take away from Catholic parents all pretext on that head for sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge. It was also part of the injunction that a Board of Examiners should be formed to test and ascertain the state and efficiency of the studies in our existing colleges.

In the Fourth Provincial Council of Westminster a decree was made embodying these injunctions, with an express declaration that though the formation of a Catholic university properly so-called is at this time beyond our power, yet that we would leave nothing untried to prepare the way for founding such an university hereafter.

In pursuance of this decree the bishops proceeded to consult the representatives of every Catholic college in England. The proposal to unite in a general system of examination was then made, but no practical result followed. For what reason the proposal failed of its effect it may not be easy to define; nor is it necessary to enter upon it now. Some thought that the formation of a body of examiners ought to precede the foundation of any college; others that the foundation of a college was the only way to make intelligible the objects the bishops had in view. The latter opinion prevailed. The bishops decided to found a college at Kensington. They did so in the desire to provide a full and ample course of higher studies for such young Catholic men as, after leaving our existing colleges still desired, either for its own sake or for professional careers, a more advanced knowledge of literature or of science. The staff of professors was justly acknowledged, both by those who wished well to the college and by those who did not, to be highly qualified. The non-Catholic papers and critics bore the same testimony. During the last five years ninety-seven young men, all of whom, excepting about fourteen, were English or Irish, entered the college. Some had made good use of their past time, and were able to derive benefit from the courses of the professors. The greater part showed no high aspirations for study. Some very little. The highest number of the students at any one time was forty-four. From that point the number declined to twelve. Two things became evident; the one, that very few came to Kensington for the sake of higher studies,

which was the end and purpose for which the college had been founded; the other, that for the most part the students came for the sake of passing some examination, such as for the army, or for medicine, or for matriculation at the London University. But this last function belongs properly to our existing colleges, and should be accomplished before students reach their eighteenth year. To matriculate at the London University is obviously no part, or only the lowest part, of the work for which a college of higher studies was intended. As to both medicine and the army, recent arrangements of the military and medical authorities require that young men destined for those professions shall enter the respective colleges and begin their technical and professional studies by seventeen or eighteen years of age. This renders the Kensington college useless to them, for it cannot receive them before their eighteenth year, and they cannot continue in it after that age. The experience therefore of the last five years has led to the belief that for the present it will be expedient for our existing colleges to raise their studies as high as they are able, and to retain their students as long as they can. The only test we have at this time of the efficiency, absolute or relative, of our existing colleges is in the results obtained by S. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, and the College of Stonyhurst. Both have attained a highly creditable success, which shows that many of our Catholic youth are already measuring strength with the youth of England at no disadvantage. The results are, during the last sixteen years, as follows :—

S. CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW.

Number of Degrees, &c., obtained by Ushaw Students in the London University in the last fifteen years.

Number of matriculated students, 171. Of these, 33 obtained honours and 2 obtained prizes.

51 have passed the first B.A. examination. Of these, 8 obtained honours and 3 obtained exhibitions.

33 have passed the second B.A. examination. Of these, 6 obtained honours and 1 obtained a scholarship and 1 a prize.

4 have passed the M.A. examination and 1 obtained a gold medal in classics.

STONYHURST COLLEGE.

From 1863—1878, inclusive.

Matriculated	139
1st. B.A. Passed . . .	41
B.A. „ . . .	26
M.A. „ . . .	4

1st. B.A. Honours:

Latin . . .	21	exhibition	2.
French . . .	5	prize 10/.	1.
Mathematics .	1		

B.A. Honours:

Classics . . .	13	scholarship	3.
Logic, &c. . .	2		

M.A. Honours:

Logic	gold medal	1.
Classics	medal marks	1.
	first on list	1.

Matriculation	prize 10/.	1.
	Prize marks	11.

Five B.A. Honour men are under examination at this date.

The day will come when it will be seen that young men can hardly be formed among boys, and that boys are better trained by themselves. The disadvantage is mutual, both suffer from being mixed together, and the time of separation will come. Perhaps it is not come as yet, and we must wait for it, for there is a law of growth in all things. We can see farther than we can reach, but we can only do what is within the length of our arm. That a college of higher studies for Catholic young men will one day be demanded is certain; so also that their isolation from boys, and their treatment by other modes of discipline are of absolute necessity, cannot be doubted. We may confidently hope that the timid and narrow counsels, howsoever sincere and well-intended, of those who desired to see our Catholic youth at Oxford and Cambridge, will be heard no more. Such a policy would be an inversion of the divine order of the Church. It would be an engrafting of the tradition of Catholic culture upon "the stock that is wild by nature." The divine method is precisely the reverse. If the Catholic Church in England be at this moment impoverished in its intellectual culture by the spoliation of its ancient schools, if it still bear upon it the most galling and humbling relics of penal laws, an impoverishment in its classical and scientific education, that is no reason for it to sacrifice the greater for the less, the sacred for the secular, the supernatural for the natural, and to abdicate its divine commission to possess itself of all sciences of God and man and the world, and to form and develop the whole nature of its disciples. The counsel to do of our own free-will in England that which Catholics have been forced to do under imperial laws in France and Germany, that is, to plunge our youth into the atmosphere and the stream of mixed universities, is an advice which, in the next generation, Catholics will hardly believe was ever seriously given to the

faithful at this day. Set aside for a moment the injunctions of the Holy See, the unlawfulness of exposing our youth to the proximate occasion of danger to faith and morals; there is yet another reason why the Catholic Church in England is bound to bear with patience for a time any transient disadvantage, rather than entangle itself in an uncatholic and unstable intellectual tradition. It would render impossible the completion of its own Catholic culture. From the day in which it began to rest itself upon any basis out of its own intellectual unity it would cease to cultivate itself. Its own internal self-completion would be arrested. It would remain stunted. It would possess no more than a system of poor schools and middle class schools, with colleges answering to Eton and Harrow and Winchester at the best. While France, and Belgium, and Germany, and Ireland are forming Catholic universities, the Church in England, which has been revived by a miracle of grace, and draws to itself the eyes and the goodwill of the Catholic world, would remain by its own free choice a mendicant on the uncatholic intellect of England for letters and for science. From such an humiliation may God preserve us.

Let us imagine for a moment that such a half-hearted counsel had prevailed over our forefathers, to whom we owe Ushaw and Stonyhurst, and Oscott and Downside, and S. Edmund's; the Catholics of this day would be the offspring of the boarding schools and public schools into which no Catholic parents with the fear of God before their eyes could trust a son. What would be the Catholic laity of England at this day nurtured in such a culture? What would the Catholic bishops and priests, and faithful of Ireland, judge of us? Would they own us as their brethren? Their instincts are those of the unbroken tradition of a Catholic people, ours would be neither Catholic nor anti-Catholic, "neither cold nor hot." We are bound to guard those who come after, as our forefathers guarded us. By their fidelity in the midst of depression sevenfold greater, and of temptation a hundredfold stronger, we are, under God, what we are. Our posterity trained in uncatholic universities would be no longer even what we are. Theirs would be the privation, but the betrayal would be ours. The bishops of England have given a public pledge in the foundation of the college at Kensington that they will leave nothing undone to avert so great a disaster, and they will await the time when what they offered five years ago, perhaps before it was required, shall be demanded by the fathers of our Catholic youth.

4. Another obvious want of the Catholic Church among us, which was noted sixteen years ago, was of laymen trained and able to compete and to lead in the public careers of English

life. We will not say in the public life of the Empire, for in our colonies Catholics hold the highest offices, and have even formed cabinets, and governed as prime ministers. But in England, partly from the solid and dominant strength of the non-Catholic traditions and the non-Catholic life of England, Catholics are practically excluded from the cabinet and from parliament. Sixteen years ago, one Catholic sat for a family borough. Now not one Catholic sits for an English constituency, and yet the Catholic population is at least one million in twenty-three. The proportion of members therefore ought to be as one in twenty-three, or about twenty upon the representatives for Great Britain. In the sixteen years that are passed we have therefore made no sensible progress in the public life of our country. Of our progress in the civil life of England it is not easy to form a judgment. There may be more of our young men entering upon professional careers, but as yet no high office of trust is held by a Catholic. The traditions of prejudice and social exclusiveness will no doubt go far to account for this; but if our rising men have equal force of character and equal cultivation with their non-Catholic countrymen they will break through these barriers. That they have not yet done so seems to point to defects either in force or in cultivation, or perhaps in both.

A list has lately been published of those who in England during the last thirty years have submitted to the divine authority of the Catholic Church. The intention of the compiler was no doubt good, but the undertaking was hardly to be commended. It could not fail to reopen many domestic wounds, and to retard rather than to promote an inclination to the Catholic faith. It is open also to the just censure of those who think to honour Christianity by saying that great intellects like Newton and Leibnitz were Christians. The Catholic Church receives no illustration from those who have the happiness to submit themselves to its divine authority. Lastly, such a list, long as it may be, represents the number of those who have been gathered into the Catholic Church about as much as the Court Guide represents the people of England. It does not even represent the number of those who have been received from the "upper ten thousand," for many a name represents not only a family, but a much larger aggregate of those who through them have one by one come to the knowledge of the truth. No such list can ever be an adequate expression of the progress of the Church in England, which is not to be measured by numbers, but by the progress of truth, and by the dissipation of false doctrines and traditional hostility to the faith.

5. Lastly, we may record one great work which has been done since our last review of the work and wants of the Church in England. It had then no College for Foreign Missions, or more properly, for missions to the heathen world. It has now a noble college, well founded, and in full activity.

When the late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster was making his retreat in 1839, before his consecration as Vicar Apostolic, he wrote down a number of works which he hoped to see accomplished. Among these one was the foundation of a college for missions to the heathen. The desire to begin such a work sprung up, in 1863, in the mind of F. Vaughan, Oblate of S. Charles. His purpose received the sanction and encouragement of the late Cardinal, and of the bishops of England and of Scotland. He then obtained the blessing of Pius IX. and a Brief of commendation conveying the Apostolic benediction to all at home or abroad who should contribute to the work. With this sanction F. Vaughan traversed North and South America, and returned in the autumn of 1865 with means sufficient, together with the contributions at home, to begin the work. In March, 1866, he began in a country house at Mill Hill with one student. In the week after Easter, 1868, a public meeting was held in St. James's Hall by the Archbishop and bishops of England, of whom eight were present, with a large attendance of the Catholic laity of all classes, to give public acceptance and confirmation to the College for Foreign Missions. In June, 1869, the foundation stone of the new college building was laid by the Archbishop, assisted by the Bishops of Beverley and Troy. In March, 1870, the first stone of the Church attached to the college, and dedicated to S. Joseph, Patron of the Universal Church, was laid.

In March, 1871, the dwelling part of the college was opened, free of debt, and F. Vaughan, with twelve students, entered upon it. A number of French students from the African College at Lyons, driven out by the Franco-German war, were received in hospitality to complete their studies.

On the 10th of October, in 1871, the Negro Mission in the Southern States of America was confided to the missionaries of S. Joseph's College, and on November 17 F. Vaughan took over with him the first four priests ordained for this mission in Baltimore.

On the Feast of S. Simon and S. Jude, in 1872, F. Vaughan was consecrated to the see of Salford; and on December 3, 1873, said the first Mass in the new Church of S. Joseph, which was still unfinished. In the following year the church was consecrated. In November, 1875, five missionaries were sent to India.

The community at this time consists of four directors, thirty-eight students, and five lay brothers.

From the outset of the college until now, thirty-one missionaries have been sent out, of whom four are dead.

The stations of the missionaries among the negro population of America were first in Baltimore, where four are attached to a church for the negroes only: two attend the negroes in Prince George's County: one is stationed at a negro chapel-school at Louisville, and two at Charleston.

The stations in India are as follows:—Of the eleven missionaries now in India, two are in charge of St. Mary's seminary, which the Vicar Apostolic of Madras has erected for the purpose of giving a classical education to those who are destined for the learned professions. Nine are on the missions—viz., seven in the Guntoor district, and two in the Nellore district.

The Vicar Apostolic of Madras wrote on the 13th of April, 1878:—

In all parts of the vicariate there is a consoling movement in the Hindoos towards Christianity. From the 1st of January, 1877, to the 6th of March, 1878, 497 Hindoo families, numbering 1858 souls, were received into the Church by baptism. And on Ash-Wednesday last there were under instruction for baptism 963 families, numbering 3795 souls. Many of these latter have already been baptised; and since Ash-Wednesday the priests have received petitions from many other villages who desire to be admitted into the Church.

There is a great work to be done in Madras at present. But it is a work of great privation and great labour. The poor villagers who seek instruction are of the very poorest class, and reside in places distant from the residence of the priests, and so far apart from each other that the priests' work among them is extremely difficult and laborious.

I shall be ever grateful if in consultation with Dr. Vaughan you can arrange to send me two new missionaries.

May 22nd, 1878. — The work thrown upon the priests is very heavy indeed. I am not without anxiety for the lives of the priests, who are overtaking their strength to meet the crisis. . . . All the priests (from Mill Hill) are, thank God, working zealously. They are all pious good priests.

It was at first thought by some, of whose devotion there could be no doubt, that the founding of a Missionary College while England is hardly emerged from a missionary state was premature: that it would divert men and means needed at home before we can afford to send them abroad. But this objection did not last long. It was soon acknowledged that the Catholics of England are in an especial way bound to give to others what has been so mercifully given back to them: that

we are not only bound by the law of faith, "Give and it shall be given to you;" but by the law of gratitude, "Give because it has been given to you." And further, a little thought is enough to show that a love for the souls of the heathen world can hardly be awakened without awakening sevenfold a love for the souls at home: that this sixth sense, as it has been well named, will be more surely called into activity and intensity by rousing it in its amplest extent and in its highest motives. Moreover, the example of Apostolic life and complete self-oblation in those who go forth from the midst of us, must react upon those who have the cure of souls at home. And if the day should come when any one who was a little while ago one of ourselves, should lay down his life for the salvation of the heathen, we should ourselves be elevated by his nearness to us all, and his martyrdom would be a part of our own inheritance. Such is the happiness of many a family in France: and the Church in France is strengthened and sustained by the prayers, and crowned with the aureolas of its many martyrs in these days of its conflict at home.

Of the five wants we noted sixteen years ago, three may be said to be supplied, or in a fair way to be supplied. For our seminaries, middle schools, and our missionary college we need multiplication, and a perpetual rise in the quality of their work. Time alone can give maturity, and all good fruits ripen slowly.

Two wants still remain. But they are so large that a longer period of careful cultivation and slow growth are needed. There will be hereafter adequate higher studies for our youth, and a participation in the public and civil offices of the State. But such wants can only be supplied by laws which govern the moral and spiritual, as well as the intellectual, development of a people.

While these special works have been accomplishing, the whole internal organisation of the Church has been advancing. The following Table will show what has been the multiplication of all its agencies since the year 1850. The increase in the number of priests and churches has been brought down to 1878. Under the other heads we have data only down to 1875. It will be seen that all that the last three centuries had bequeathed to this generation, of clergy, churches, colleges, and schools, has in the last twenty-eight years been doubled; that the convents are nearly fivefold; and the poor schools and children attending them have been multiplied also fivefold, or in a proportion which cannot be ascertained.

To what is this manifold development of the Church during the last eight-and-twenty years to be ascribed? Not to any

Table of Priests, Churches, Convents, Monasteries, Colleges, Schools, and of Children frequenting them, showing the Progress of the Catholic Religion in England from the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 to 1878.

Dioceses.	Priests.		Churches and Public Chapels.		Religious Houses.		Colleges.		Poor Schools.		Children attending	
	1851	1878	1851	1878	Men.	Women.	1851	1875	1875	1875	1875	1875
Westminster	113	311	46	103	2	14	9	55	1	5	8333	18,130
Beverley	69	152	61	110	1	5	2	19	1	1	33	10,877
Birmingham	121	188	84	106	5	4	14	27	1	2	35	12,631
Clifton	49	75	23	38	2	2	5	16	2	2	18	2,400
Hexham and Newcastle	70	132	51	101	...	1	2	15	1	1	70	12,353
Liverpool	113	261	79	126	1	4	2	34	1	1	336	27,437
Newport	22	55	21	56	...	6	...	7	...	...	54	5,000
Northampton	27	39	26	45	...	...	1	7	...	...	24	400
Nottingham	53	99	42	74	3	...	4	6	2	2	33	3,000
Plymouth	25	44	28	40	...	...	5	11	...	...	600	1,805
Salford	61	190	35	93	...	2	1	17	1	1	42	24,790
Shrewsbury	33	110	30	69	1	4	1	8	...	1	60	5,152
Southwark	67	227	57	134	1	12	9	35	...	4	79	3235
Total	823	1883*	583	1095†	16	59	55	257	10	20	1397	133,823

* Now 1903.

† Now 1122.

notable increase in the Catholic population of England and Wales ; for, so far as we can ascertain, it remains as it was, and in some places has even diminished, though in others it may have increased ; nor to any extraordinary events or agencies, for none such can be found. There is but one evident and assignable cause, and that is the lifting of the Catholic religion in England from the abnormal and mutilated state in which it had so long lain depressed and enfeebled, and its restoration to the normal and perfect order of its divine organisation. S. Paul, in writing to the Ephesians, says that the end for which the divine orders of pastors and of priests were ordained is "for the edifying of the Body of Christ," which he there describes as a living frame, developing and perfecting itself by the interaction of its own vital powers and organs. And these are the orders and ministries of its pastors. But this pastoral office is the apostolate which the Divine Head of the Church gave first to Peter alone ; that is, the plenitude of faith and of jurisdiction ; and afterwards *per modum unius* to Peter with the apostles. They shared the same endowments, save only that the Primacy was in Peter only. They had by participation what he had in fulness and alone. This divine organisation of the Church cannot be mutilated without injury to the vital action of the body, as any lesion of the human structure impedes or even threatens life. Peter and the apostolate live on for ever in the successor of Peter, and in the successors of the Apostles. The Primacy and the apostolate are both divine and indefectible. Peter lives on in his successor, who in strictness is the sole successor of an apostle, for Peter was the only apostle who had the Primacy or plenitude of faith and of jurisdiction, and his successor has the same. But the episcopate is the apostolate spreading throughout the world and perpetual in all time. Every bishop is Pastor and Judge of doctrine, a *Christo constitutus*. He has a divine jurisdiction, ordinary and immediate, but limited to the flock assigned to him, and he has also, not an universal jurisdiction, but a participation in the endowments of the universal episcopate when united to its Head in Council. The Bishops as a body are successors of the Apostles as a body ; not each to each, but as a whole to a whole, of which the successor of Peter is Head and Chief. S. Cyprian says, "the episcopate is one of which each holds a share in full."* In this sense the Council of Trent says that "Bishops, who succeed in the place of the Apostles, form a chief part of the hierarchical order, and are set, as the Apostle says, by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God."† And in like manner the Council of the

* "De Unit Eccl.," p. 180.

† Seq., xxxiii, cap. 11.

Vatican, in defining the supreme jurisdiction of the successor of Peter, goes on carefully to declare the divine origin and pastoral authority of the episcopate. Its words are grave, and full of meaning. After defining the supremacy of Peter and his successors, the Council proceeds to say, "So far is this power of the Supreme Pontiff from obstructing the ordinary and immediate episcopal jurisdiction, whereby bishops, who are set by the Holy Ghost and succeed in the place of the Apostles, as true pastors feed and rule the several flocks assigned to each, that this same jurisdiction of theirs is assisted, strengthened, and vindicated by the supreme and universal pastor, according to the words of S. Gregory the Great, 'My honour is the honour of the Universal Church. Then I am honoured indeed, when the honour due to each is denied to none.'"^{*}

Now for three hundred years this divine organisation had ceased to exist in England. For a long time there was no bishop at all, then came one alone; then for another interval there was again none at all; till some men began to say that a bishop was not wanted except to confirm. Then there were vicars apostolic without diocese, or synod, or ordinary jurisdiction, not *veri pastores*, but vicars and delegates. Three centuries ran on and the Faith in England lived, not in a body, but in individuals; members of the Universal Church, indeed, but without their true pastors and without the living organisation of the Church. From generation to generation the faithful pleaded and prayed for the successors of the Apostles set by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church as of old. But penal laws, and the state of the world and many influences and agencies, held back the day of restoration. It was a sore time of desolation. The Faith was invisible: families in every class fell away: multitudes were absorbed into the uncatholic life of England, and disappeared. The vicars apostolic did great works, but their hands were weakened. A bishop "*Cujus oves non sunt proprie*" is at a great disadvantage. His priests know him to be a bishop but cannot see in him a father who ordains them as his sons, and a *verus Pastor* who is bound to lay down his life for the flock. All the bonds of unity are loosened, and all the motives of zeal are relaxed. Great things, however, were done in this informal, provisional, and transient state. Speaking of the state of England under the vicars apostolic, the Bishop of Birmingham says:—

Both the authority and the machinery of a synod were wanting. There was neither archbishop to preside, nor suffragans with their

^{*} "Const. Dogmatica Prima De Ecclesia Christi," cap. 3.

theologians to respond to his summons, nor chapters to send their delegates. There was no graduated rank among the clergy, as they complained. Even the vicars general were rather nominal than effective. The vicars apostolic themselves met annually in London to take common counsel together; but, however useful those assemblies might be, they left each prelate standing in an authority that was isolated from that of his brethren. It was not like an organized province assembling in hierarchical order, in accordance with canonical forms, aided by the lights of the ablest of its clergy, and drawing out decrees of discipline from the vast code of the Ecclesiastical Common Law, shaped by experience to local requirements, and receiving the stamp of authenticity through a final revision by the Holy See.*

The restoration of the hierarchy changed all this in a moment. Thirteen pastors with thirteen flocks in thirteen dioceses, assigned each to each by the successor of Peter, began at once to exercise a divine, ordinary, and immediate jurisdiction of their own, still further extended in its reach as delegates of the Holy See. A close personal insight into the needs of each diocese, and into every district of each diocese by a pastor responsible for every soul, and invested with adequate authority, has changed, so far as time and many infirmities permit, the condition of the Catholic faith in England. It is now incorporated in a visible and perfect Church, engrafted into the Church throughout the world. The mind and life and vital warmth of the Catholic Church pervade it. The table of statistics given above affords but a faint representation of the change which has passed over the Catholic religion in England. Firm and inflexible as it ever was in faith, the narrowness of its churches and the fewness of its priests made the restoration of its solemnities of divine worship and its daily practices of devotion almost impossible. Now they are in full observance. Our then state was too informal to have old traditions, and the absence of traditions has enabled us to restore all things by the traditions and usages of the Holy See. Four Provincial Councils and Diocesan Synods held in many dioceses year by year, in others frequently, have carried the common law of the Church in its main provisions throughout England. What was under the plough has been brought not only under the spade but under the trowel. Of this our schools for the children of the poor are a noble example. It may be doubted whether a nobler example of zeal and self-denial in a priesthood living among the poor and in poverty themselves, can be anywhere found than the Catholic poor schools of England. An old writer says, "When the husbandman sees a tree drooping with pallid leaves

* "Restoration," pp. 4, 5.

he knows that it has some harm in its root : so when you see a people without religion, *sine dubio cognoscis, quia sacerdotium ejus non est sanum*, you know without a doubt that its priesthood is not sound." We have, thank God, no such sign of decay.

If there can be one test of zeal for souls more certain than another, it is the state of the children in the poor schools. Many motives prompt a priest to visit the sick, or sit in the confessional, or preach without ceasing. But there is only one motive which keeps a priest regular, watchful, patient, and industrious in visiting and inspecting his schools, in teaching the children with his own lips, in hearing their confessions, and bringing them watchfully to holy communion. This is a work unexciting, monotonous, never ending, ever beginning, intolerable to even good men in whom the love of souls and the love of unostentatious work is not supreme. The condition of the great majority of our poor schools, the religious knowledge of the children, as tested and known year by year by the diocesan inspector, proves that the pastoral clergy in England have upon them the spirit of the Good Shepherd. If this alone had been done by the restored hierarchy in England, it would have been enough. But it is not all. The education and multiplication of the diocesan clergy, and the founding of seminaries, both lesser and greater, will mark this first period of the restored Church in England. The bishops have not spent money in piling stones into costly sanctuaries, but in building up the living stones of "the tabernacle which the Lord hath pitched and not man." It is this which has carried the hearts of the people with them. And it is this that makes us venture to hope that the too kindly words of the Bishop of Agen are not altogether far from truth. "The highest families in England, in returning to the truth, understand better their true interests. They freely allow the grace of vocation to take possession of their sons and their noblest offspring, and the Church has already right to be proud of the good bishops, the learned priests, the holy religious which it counts in its bosom. This is for that old stock made young again by the sap of Catholicism, a sure guarantee of vitality."*

No better words can close this article than those which the Vicar-General of Orleans addresses to the faithful in France. "If I were a man of the world I should wish to have, against all my sins, as a shield over my head and the head of my children, a priest who owes to me his education and his priest-

* "Le Grand Pêril," p. 91.

hood, and who, standing every morning at the altar, would be to me as a lightning conductor.

"Our forefathers, to expiate their faults, used to found a perpetual lamp before the Blessed Sacrament. Found a priest. That will be a better lamp, which will give to God more glory and to the world more light."*

HENRY EDWARD CARD. MANNING,
Archbishop of Westminster.

ART. IV.—THE BRISTOL PULPIT IN THE DAYS OF
HENRY VIII.

Sermons, very fruitful, godly, and learned, preached and set forth by Master Roger Edgeworth, doctor of divinity, canon of the cathedral churches of Salisbury, Wells, and Bristol, residentiary in the cathedral church of Wells and chancellor of the same church, etc. Printed by ROBERT CALY, anno 1557.

AMONG the minor sources of history sermons sometimes occupy an important place, and of late years this vein has been worked with considerable profit. The Prize Essay of M. Lecoy de la Marche on the MS. sermons in France belonging to the twelfth century, is replete with the most interesting details not only of the preachers and their compositions, but of the history of the times and the manners of the people. The instructive and entertaining Sketches of the Reformation by the Rev. Mr. Haweis are drawn principally from the old forgotten volumes of Protestant sermons published in the reign of Elizabeth. As Lord Macaulay enlivened his history of the seventeenth century by curious extracts from pamphlet literature, and as the future historian of the nineteenth century—hapless man!—will have to search for the needle of truth through whole stacks and barns of contradictory newspapers, so is it necessary for him who would get a real acquaintance with the views and passions of the England of the sixteenth century, at least to skim the books of controversy which appeared on both sides, whether in English or in Latin, and shaking the dust from worm-eaten volumes of sermons, to see what was "set forth" in those repulsive black-letter types by the champions of the day for the conviction or edification of the world. The task may not be always pleasant, but it will be rarely dull.

* "Le Grand Péril," p. 152.

There were vigorous writers and preachers in those days among the defenders of the old faith as well as among its opponents. They gave "buffs and counter buffs" most heartily. They were familiar with their audience, and talked of the events of the day. There are picturesque passages in the sermons of the Protestant Pilkington or in the controversial treatises of the Catholic Harding, which deserve to be collected, as we collect quaint old woodcuts for their faithful representation of costume or their broad caricature, and the knowledge of which is essential to the student of the times. But Catholic enterprise has not yet done for our old Catholic champions what the Parker Society has achieved for Protestants.

Should the attempt which was made unsuccessfully some years ago to reprint the Catholic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries be ever renewed, there will be a class of books which will cause some embarrassment to the editors of the series. Are the treatises composed during the schism of Henry to be altogether omitted? Are the names of Cuthbert Tunstal and Stephen Gardiner to be effaced from the list of Catholic writers? In many points they defended the Catholic faith against the new heresies. But, on the other hand, they not merely countenanced schism by their conduct, but defended it with their pens. It is said that when the birds and the mice once waged war, the bats alternately sided with either side, sometimes claiming affinity with the mice because of their bodies, sometimes with the birds on account of their wings. At last their double-dealing was discovered by both parties, and by both they were scouted; and thus it came to pass that they were condemned to appear only at twilight, when the birds have gone to roost and before the mice have come out to feed. The schismatical opponents of heresy in the days of Henry took a very similar course, and seem doomed to a similar fate. Yet we study the habits of bats with curiosity, and in these days when theological *Vespertiliones* are multiplying in England, America, and Germany, it may be interesting to examine a specimen of the genus in the first half of the sixteenth century.

A few copies survive of a volume of sermons published by Roger Edgeworth in the reign of Mary, though most of them were preached in the time of Henry. The author of this volume was a Catholic in his early years, a schismatic when Henry separated from the Holy See, a sufferer for conscience under Edward, was again reconciled to the Church under Mary, and, as we trust, died in its communion in the first year of Elizabeth. In a worldly point of view his career was successful enough. He became a student at Oxford about 1503, took his

degree in arts in 1507, and the year after was elected Fellow of Oriel, on the foundation of Bishop Smith. In 1519 he was admitted to the reading of the "Sentences." He became canon of Bristol in 1542, Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Wells, in 1543. He held also the cure of Christ Church, near Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, and was canon of Salisbury as well as of Wells, and chancellor of the latter cathedral. These facts are given both by Dodd and by Anthony à Wood, but it is evident that though they knew him to have published a volume of sermons, neither of his biographers had ever seen them. Dodd gives their title incorrectly, and Wood speaks of their author in such a way as to show that he was writing from mere hearsay. "When King Henry," he says, "had extirpated the Pope's power, Edgeworth seemed to be very moderate, and also in the days of Edward; but when Queen Mary succeeded, he showed himself a most zealous person for the Roman Catholic religion, and a great enemy of Luther and the reformers." Perhaps the exact contrary on every point of this criticism would be nearer to the truth. Whatever there is in Edgeworth's sermons of zeal against the new doctrines was preached in the time of Henry. His opposition to novelty caused him to be silenced, and even imprisoned in the days of Edward; while his "moderation," if it deserve such a name, is rather shown in this, that publishing, as he did, his sermons in the reign of Mary, he neither added anything in condemnation of his former schism, nor even corrected certain passages in which he had over-extolled the royal power. There seems indeed to be a popular error regarding the time-servers or turncoats of those evil days. It is supposed that they defended first one doctrine and then the contrary, while in truth they were either silent altogether or so spoke that men knew not to which side they really leaned. No doubt there were many of the Vicar of Bray type, whose only principle, from which they never swerved, was to have no principle which would entail loss or trouble. We have a notable example in the Dean of Gloucester. William Genings was monk of St. Peter's Abbey, and the last prior of St. Oswald's, in Gloucester, and at the suppression was made chaplain to Henry VIII. He made himself so pleasing to his master, that when the abbey was changed into a cathedral church, he was appointed the first dean in 1541, besides occupying no less than three parochial benefices. He retained his deanery throughout the reigns of Edward and Mary, and far into that of Elizabeth. Perhaps there is a touch of irony in his epitaph, which thus concludes:—

Non tam pane tuo quam Christi pane replesti
Christicolæ, ergo vivis et astra tenes.

But who could doubt that such men as this were either infidels, caring for nothing but themselves, or Protestants at heart, notwithstanding that they said Mass in the reign of Mary? There were also many who were always Catholics at heart, though they were what Dodd calls "occasionalists," i.e., occasional conformers in the time of Edward. But whether they were Catholics or Protestants, it will be found on examination that they did not change their opinions or their language so much as is supposed. Very few of the champions of the old faith, during the reign of Henry, became converts to Calvinism in the days of Edward, nor did the opponents of the Holy Mass in the time of Edward become its defenders under Mary. Some, indeed the majority on both sides, yielded to the laws, but it was with regret, waiting for what they thought better times, when their secret opinions would be professed again. In the meantime they showed no zeal for the cause which was not theirs at heart. Their inclinations were generally well known. They were suspected to be favourers of the "new learning," even when, in the days of Henry or Mary, they kept out of the reach of the laws against heresy; or they were thought to be attached to the "old superstitions," as the Catholic rites were called, even when, under Edward or Elizabeth, they consented, from fear of fine or imprisonment, to read or listen to the English service in a building from which images and altar had been removed. Cranmer was a time-server, but he was never a champion of Catholic doctrines, even when he professed them. Gardiner also was a time-server, but he was always known as the professed enemy of Protestantism. It may be doubted whether even one writer can be named in England in the sixteenth century who would answer the description given by Wood of Roger Edgeworth, as showing great zeal under Mary against Protestantism, after having been very favourable towards it previously. Those who had once embraced the views of Luther or Calvin looked on the Catholic Church as the communion of Antichrist, and her whole history for centuries as a mere record of idolatry. They were filled with a fanatical hatred of everything Catholic, which seldom yielded to argument, and which became more intense when repressed by fear. A Protestant once made, remained a Protestant to death. I am speaking, of course, of the early days of the Reformation, and of those Protestants who had once been Catholics. At a later period conversions were frequent, for conversion meant simply the casting away of ignorance and prejudice imbibed in youth, on being confronted with facts, or being brought face to face with truth. Formal heretics rarely return to the Church, material heretics often become Catholics. And if we turn to

the theological writers with whom we are now concerned—those who in the days of Queen Mary were reconciled with the Holy See, after having lived in schism under Henry—it will be found that they had always been determined opponents of Protestantism. Bonner, Lee, Gardiner, Tunstal, Dr. Richard Smith, Dr. Pendleton, and others, renounced indeed the Pope's authority either through ignorance, prejudice, servility, or ambition, as the case might be; but it had never entered their minds that there could be any real Christianity except that which had been ever professed in the visible Catholic Church. They thought, or professed to think, that the Papal supremacy had been a mere ecclesiastical institution, and was not essential to the unity of the Church or the preservation of the faith. The vacillations of Henry and the open heresy of Edward opened their eyes to the inadequacy of that royal supremacy which they had extolled so rashly, and to the necessity of that Papal supremacy which they had so schismatically and indeed heretically rejected; but the change of their conduct under Mary arose from attachment to, not from rejection of, the principles they had held and professed under Henry. They were conscious to themselves of having repented of a sin, or corrected a mistake, but not of having changed their religion, or gone from one side to the other in the great controversy of the day.

And this is why I have compared them to bats. Bats are not alternately mice and birds. Nor are they half mice, half birds. They are viviparous quadrupeds, with a similarity to birds in their power of flying, which might easily deceive a simple person in the dusk. So these men were Catholic at heart and in all their sympathies, but their renunciation of the Pope made them look like the Protestants, with whom they had little in common. As there are different kinds of bats, so there are various species of these twilight theologians. The ex-Catholics of Germany are vampires compared with the poor flittermice of the reign of Henry VIII. These yielded to persecution, and they had the excuse for their theories that the consequences of schism were yet unknown. It must never be forgotten, in estimating the conduct of certain Catholic bishops and theologians of the sixteenth century, that Protestantism was to them utterly unimaginable. England had had one faith for a thousand years. The miserable heresies which had now and then appeared had been recognised as such and repressed. Quarrels with the Holy See had always been accommodated. Who could then conceive an England divided into a multitude of recognised antagonistic sects, among which the obligation and very notion of unity would be lost? Men now know the consequences of breaking from the Holy See. The followers

of Reinkens cannot, therefore, plead any of the excuses which we may in fairness allege for the followers of Gardiner. As to our English and American Ritualists, time only can show how many of them are Catholics at heart, struggling with the confusion of thought, which is the heritage of our century, and how many are ultra-Protestants, hating the authority of the Church, while they mimic its rites and proclaim some of its doctrines.

These remarks seemed necessary to introduce Roger Edgeworth to the reader. I have no wish to vindicate his conduct or to defend his opinions. Yet, as he may be taken very fairly as a type of the Catholic party among the schismatics, it is necessary to discover the truth about his and their views; and we must accept it as a fact that he had little consciousness of his own vacillations. He was evidently under no fear that his words might be applied to himself, when he pronounced, or when he afterwards published, the following censures :—

How many have we heard of that for fear lest they should lose promotion, favour, or friendship that they looked for, have fallen to preach and teach pernicious heresies, and many others to speak against reason, and to talk that with their mouth that they have not thought with their hearts.

This he said during the reign of Henry; but when he had watched the career of these men longer, and had abjured his own abjuration of the Pope in the reign of Mary, he still spoke fearlessly :—

They that for to please the world, or for promotion, profit, or advantage, will be of one opinion now, and soon after of another mind, and at one time do teach one thing, and at another time do teach the contrary, as the wind bloweth and as the world changeth, they at the first had no good conscience. The science or knowledge of their hearts or minds was not good, but erroneous, or else vafre, wily, and subtle, which St. Peter would not have in any Christian man or woman.

Edgeworth was not unwilling to speak about himself even in the pulpit, and the passages I shall quote will show how freely he pronounced judgment about others. I shall give the Preface to his Sermons almost in full, since in it he reviews his whole career. It is a curious fact that, though this Preface was written near the end of the reign of Mary, and after he and the whole country had been absolved from the guilt of schism, he has no word of censure or contrition for his conduct under Henry, while he expresses only gratitude for his consistent opposition to heresy.

"Considering," he says, "that it hath pleased Almighty God of His plenteous mercy and goodness, to open my mouth and to make me occupied in preaching His holy word now by the space of forty years and more, I thought it not good to permit such matters as I have (through God's help) set forth in my sermons utterly to rot and perish. And lest, as the moral poet saith, *Deferar in vicum vendentem thus et aroma*, I have therefore—perusing, yea rather superficially running over such sermons as I have preached in times past—found much good matter in them, right worthy to be had in memory, and so compact and set together, that now in my old age I rejoyce in God, that gave me His gracious gift so to travail in such study when I was young and lusty.

"These my long labours hath been in the most troublous times and most cumbered with errors and heresies, change of minds and schisms, that ever was in this realm for so long time together, that any man can read of. While I was a young student in divinity, Luther's heresies rose and were scattered here in this realm; which, in less space than a man would think, had so sore infected the Christian flock, first the youth and consequently the elders (where the children could set the fathers to school), that the King's majesty and all the Catholic clerks in the realm had much ado to extinguish them, which yet they could not so perfectly quench, but that ever still when they might have any maintenance by men or women of great power, they burst out afresh even like fire hidden under chaff, which sometimes among will flame out and do hurt if it be not looked to.

"Against such errors with their appendices I have inveighed earnestly and oft in my sermons, in disputations and reasoning with the Protestants, until I have been put to silence, either by general prohibition to preach, or by name, or by captivity and imprisonment, of all which (I thank God) I have had my part. And yet ever, when I might have any clear time, I have returned to the same exercise more vehemently than afore, and so will do while I may have strength to speak.

"And because these sermons were made in English, and touch sometimes among such heresies as have troubled English folk, I thought it best to set them forth in such language as might presently best edify the multitude.

"Moreover please you to be advertised, that when I should preach in any solemn and learned audience, I, ever fearing the lability of my remembrance, used to pen my sermons much like as I intended to utter them to the audience. Others I scribbled up not so perfectly, yet sufficiently for me to perceive my matter and my process. And of these two sorts I have kept, as grace was, a great multitude, which now helpeth me in this my enterprise of imprinting a book of my said exhortations. Moreover, I have made innumerable exhortations at my cures and in other places where I have dwelled, and in the countries there about, and in my journies where it hath chanced me to be on Sundays or other holy days, of which I have no signs remaining in writing, although I think verily some of them were as fruitful as others

in which I took more labour. I pray God they may be written and registered in the book of life everlasting.

"And when I should preach oftentimes in one place I used not to take every day a distinct epistle or gospel or other text, but to take some process of Scripture, and to prosecute the same, part one day, and part another day. And so you shall perceive by my declaration of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, which I preached at Redcliff Cross, in the good and worshipful city of Bristol, in sundry sermons, although I was interrupted many years by the confederacy of Hugh Latimer then aspiring to a bishopric, and after (wards) being Bishop of Worcester and ordinary of the greatest part of the said Bristol, and infecting the whole. And so by the exposition of the first epistle of St. Peter, which I preached also in many sermons at the cathedral church there, where I am one of the canons. In this also I was many times and long discontinued by the odious schism that was now lately and by the doers of the same. And in like manner in the cathedral church of Wells, on the first and second Sundays of Advent, on Ash Wednesday, and others. And there I lacked no trouble by Bishop Barlow and his officers. Of which such as be not performed, I intend (if it shall please God) to perform and finish hereafter.

"Of all my said sermons you shall now receive in this book, as hereafter followeth:—

"A Declaration of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, in six sermons.

"A Homily of the Articles of the Christian faith.

"A Homily of ceremonies and of man's laws.

"A perfect Exposition of St. Peter's first epistle, in twenty treatises or sermons.

"I have beside these many sermons, made in very solemn audiences, on the dominical epistles and gospels, some in the University of Oxford; some at Paul's Cross, in London; some in the court afore my most honourable Lord and Master King Henry the Eighth; some in the cathedral church of Wells, where hath been, ever since I knew it, a solemn and well-learned audience, which I propose (God willing) to set forth hereafter, as I may have opportunity."

The opportunity never occurred, for Mary died the year after the publication of this volume, and the next year Edgeworth himself followed her, and it is to be feared that his cherished MSS. went the way that he had dreaded, and were used to wrap up groceries or to light fires. This is to be regretted, for not only is his style vigorous and his matter solid, but he throws many side lights on the events which he witnessed, which are of use to set against the scurrilities of Foxe and Bale. Before quoting these it may be interesting to give a few specimens of his style, in the first of which I will retain his mode of spelling:—

The inheritaunce of Heaven (as the apostle saythe here) hath

three excellent properties, whych wie maye ymagine by three contrarye properties, whiche no purchaser wyll have in anye patrimonie, manour, or lordshippe that he shoulde bye or purchase for himselfe to inhabite or dwell in. Firste, if it bee a rotten grounde, where all thyng anone moulleth, the tenantes and mortises of tymber-buyldynge rotteth oute and loseth their pyennes. The walles or rouffes gathereth a mosse or a wylde fearne, that rotteth out the lyne and mortar from the stones. And where the sea or freshe water weareth out the ground, so that all thinges that there is in shorte space commeth to nought. He is not wyse that wyll bestowe hymselfe or hys money on suche a grounde. Second, if there bee in the lande or house any infectyve or pestylente ayre, disposynge menne to manye infirmityes, and genderyne adders, snakes, or todes, or these stingyng scowts or gnats, that will not suffre men to slepe, a man shoulde have litle joye to dwel in such a manour. Third, if it be suche a grounde where all thinge withereth and dryeth awaye for lacke of moysture, where hearbes proveth not, and trees groweth not to theyr naturall quantitie, where the leves waxeth yelow and falleth at Lammas tyde, where men soweth a busshel and reapeth a peck, and for redde wheate reapeth like rye or otes, that (which) is bestowed on suche a purchase is but cast awaye.

The inheritance of this transitorye worlde hath all these noughty properties rehersed, and manye worse. Townes and towres, castels and manours decayeth continuallye, and where noblemen have dwelled now dwelleth dawes and crowes, the vawtes and rouffes* be so ruinous, that no man dare well come under them. Where is Troye? Where be the olde Emperies and monarchies of the Assirians, of the Caldeis, Medes, Persies, and of Rome, whose Emperours had under them in maner all the worlde, for theyr tyme? Where is the devotion that noblemen and ryche merchauntes hath had to magnifie and encrease Goddes service to his honoure? If God had not preserved our most gracious Souveraigne Kinge Henry the eyght, whiche by his princelie zeale, love, and devotion to God, hath erecte this Cathedrall Church of Bristowe, and manye other suche within this Realme, God knoweth what case divine service should have bene in. All thinge waxeth olde and decayeth in processe of time, so that corruption and deathe is the ende.

Seconde, how frequent and many infirmities raigneth. We see dayly infections of pestilence, pockes great and small, and these new burninge agues, and innumerable others, more than the Phisicions have written of in their bookes. These contaminate and defowleth men's bodies by infections, aches and paines even to deathe, &c.

This first specimen savours somewhat of meanness in the preacher who could speak as if the old monasteries had fallen into decay by the lapse of ages, instead of by Henry's sacrilege, and who could praise that tyrant's "zeal, love, and devotion

* Vaults and roofs.

to God," because he spared a few buildings, and appropriated some small portion of the monastic foundations for the maintenance of secular canons, of whom the preacher was one. This certainly invalidates Edgeworth's testimony when he describes the poor suppressed monks, as in the following passage: "But, masters, if in St. Jerome's time religion had been like to religions as they be nowadays, trow ye that St. Jerome would so earnestly have exhorted men to them? No, no. Our religious men they be but *parietes dealbati*, very counterfeit appearing; and, not being religious, no more like the religion in St. Jerome's time, than an apple like an oyster."

Edgeworth's sermons are not mainly controversial, but explanatory of Scripture and of Catholic doctrine. His style is lively and his applications striking. He is never vague in his moral lessons. If he explains that the virtue of *modestia* requires that everything be said or done in proper time or place, he gives us a picture of a preacher "recording his sermon riding by the way," which, he says, is quite fitting, and contrasts him with another who is "in his dumps among his loving friends, or at a banquet," which would be churlish. If he has to give an explanation of *nimietas*, or extravagance, he blames the festive habits which prevailed at Christmas, by which men spent so much for ostentation that they were afterwards obliged "to fare worse in their dish till Easter;" or he complains that "velvets and other silks be as commonly on the poor men's backs, who live from hand to mouth, as on the gentleman or the alderman of Bristol." He gives a lively picture of the fashionable spendthrifts who, after running through their fortune, will be ready to fight if a man reproach them with waste, "and will swear wounds and nails that if they had twice as much more it should go the same way." I must, however, be content with one specimen of his moralising, and if I select his censure of the prevailing fashions in ladies' hairdressing, it is not from love of satire, but because of the curious resemblance between the modes of the present day and those of the Court of Henry:—

Because S. Peter had bid all wives to please their husbands with obedience and due subjection, lest they should think this subjection and pleasing of their husbands to stand in trimming and dressing their bodies curiously and wantonly, he declareth that he meaneth nothing less, and biddeth them that they use not to make their hair for the nonce, setting it abroad smoothly slickt, to make it shine in men's eyes, or curiously platted in tresses, or as gentlewomen use nowaday, purposely neglected, hanging about their eyes, as it were saying "I care not how my hair lie;" and yet, while they do so, they most care how to pull abroad their locks to be seen. And so when they take

upon them to care least, then they care most for their hair. Some there be that cannot be content with their hair as God made it, but doth paint it and set it in another hue; as when it was white hair they dye it fair and yellow, or if it be black as a crow it must be set in some brighter colour, as brown, or auburn, or red. And so must their brows and the bryes of their eyelids be painted proportionably. All this disguising of women's hair St. Peter calleth by one name, *capillatura*.

These few specimens of Edgeworth's style will be sufficient to show that he was little inferior to the best of his contemporaries in the command of forcible English. But his sermons are especially interesting for what they reveal as to the state of society in his own days. In one of his earliest sermons he complains of the spread of the new heresies.

Now in our time, Luther in Saxony hath taken to his counsel and confederacy many of our Englishmen, besides them that he hath infected within this our realm. Their counsel and confederacy hath no part of this gift of the Holy Ghost, that I call the spirit of counsel, because it is grounded on carnality, and therefore finally it will be broken, though Almighty God, for our sins, suffer us to be flagelled and troubled with it, how long no man knoweth, but God alone, though we trust in God their time be short, for their errors come to light every day more and more. And by the diligent and studious labours of our sovereign and most gracious prince, King Henry the Eighth, and his encouraging of great clerks to investigate, try, and search out the mere and sure truths of the Scriptures, they be so manifestly impugned, that no man can be inveigled or deceived with them, but such a one as in the clear light will not open his eyes to see the daylight.

That the counsel and confederacy of all such heretics is grounded on carnality, it cannot be hid. . . . For carnal liberty they labour with all their might, under the pretensed colour of evangelical liberty. In very deed the faith of Christ, and the Gospel of Christ, gives us a liberty, but not that liberty that they claim by it. It setteth us at liberty out of the devil's danger that we were in afore Christ's coming. It setteth us at liberty and not bound to the ceremonies of Moses' law. But to say that it setteth us at liberty that we may do what we will, they slander the Gospel of Christ, and falsely belie it. . . .

I would, saith S. Peter, ye should order yourselves as freemen and as men at liberty, but not to take your liberty as a cloak for malice or evil living (1 Pet. ii. 16); as these that call themselves "evangelical brothers" do nowadays, which count themselves by their faith at liberty to eat when they will and what they will, without any delect choice, or exception of days or times, without any exception, choice, or diversity putting betwixt any kind of meats, fish, or flesh, indifferently at all times. Yea—and that is more horrible and shameful to rehearse it (if there were anything a shame to say it)—that all flesh is free for all flesh to eat it that the pleasure of the belly

desireth, or to use in carnal lust, whether it be sister with the brother, and (yet more horrible than so) the parents with their own children, and the children with their parents, if both parties be agreed. A sore stroke of God that He hath suffered men to run so at large, and to fall to such shameful and beastly blindness against nature.

Edgeworth says in his preface that the sermons on the gifts of the Holy Ghost were begun about 1535, when Latimer was aspiring to be bishop, and continued with interruptions. It is therefore probable that the second sermon, from which the above passage is taken, was preached soon after the execution of Anne Boleyn and her brother Lord Rochford on the charge of incest. Though most people now believe them innocent, yet as they were known to be "favourers of the Gospel," as the phrase then ran, their guilt would in those days easily be admitted by their religious opponents and cast as a reproach on the opposite party. This is what Cranmer feared when he wrote to Henry before Anne Boleyn's trial: "As I loved her not a little, for the love I judged her to bear towards God and His holy Gospel, so, if she proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Gospel that will ever favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they love the Gospel, the more they will hate her, for then there never was creature in our time that so much slandered the Gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment for that she feignedly hath professed the Gospel in her mouth and not in her heart and deed." It is certainly pleasant to hear Cranmer discoursing on "feigned professions," and on the love of God, and that to Henry VIII., entangled in new debaucheries and bent on murder. If Edgeworth was in search of examples of hypocrisy and carnal licence, his king and archbishop would have afforded him apter illustrations than the unfortunate queen, if he indeed alludes to her.

The Protestant Pilkington tells us that:—

It was common in England in the papists' mouths, when the Gospel was preached, to deface the truth: "Who are your preachers now but young men unlearned and not skilled in the doctors? And who teaches the other old learning but my lord bishop, master doctor, ancient bachelors in divinity, and prove it by the ancient writers?" These are gay and glorious words indeed, if they had been true, (adds Pilkington); but although young men did teach, yet their doctrine was most wholesome, and approved by the Scriptures and all good writers, which is most to God's glory, that opened the mouths of younglings to confound the doting of old fools.*

* Pilkington's Works, p. 100. (Ed. Parker Society.)

Let us now hear what "master doctor" Edgeworth, whom Pilkington no doubt includes among the dotards, has to say about the younglings :—

Of all such green divines as I have spoken of it appeareth full well what learning they have by this, that when they teach any of their disciples, and when they give any of their books to other men to read, the first suggestion why they should labour such books is, because by this (they say) thou shalt be able to oppose the best priest in the parish, and to tell him he lieth. Lo the charity ! . . . Of their learning and knowledge, (he says elsewhere), which they think they have, they will make as great glory and boast as did the Jews of their learning. And yet their zeal and learning shall be without that science that is the gift of the Holy Ghost. In this case be they that so arrogantly glory in their learning had by study in the English Bible, and in these seditious English books that have been sent over from our English runagates now abiding with Luther in Saxony. Of their study you may judge by the effect. When men and women have all studied and count themselves best learned, of their learning men perceive little else but envy, and disdaining at others, mocking and despising all goodness, railing at fasting and at abstinence from certain meats one day afore another by custom or commandment of the Church, at mass and matins, and at all the blessed ceremonies of Christ's Church, ordained and used for the advancement and setting forth of God's glory, not without profound and great mysteries and causes reasonable.

By this effect you may judge of the cause. The effect is nought, therefore there must needs be some fault in the cause. But what, sayest thou, is not the study of Scripture good ? Is not the knowledge of the Gospel and of the New Testament godly, good, and profitable for a Christian man or woman ? I shall tell you what I think in this matter. I have ever been of this mind, that I have thought it no harm, but rather good and profitable, that Holy Scripture should be had in the mother-tongue, and withholden from no man that were apt and meet to take it in hand, specially if we could get it well and truly translated, which will be very hard to be had. But who be meet and able to take it in hand, there is the doubt, &c.

It will be seen by these extracts how decided a contempt Edgeworth entertained for the glib, self-taught, and self-sent preachers of the Reformation, and, on the other hand, that, as befitted a university man and a doctor of divinity, he had a great respect for learning. There occurs in one of his sermons a very interesting appeal for the students at the universities, in which he gives some details of his own youth, and in which his affection and gratitude towards his early benefactors appear in a very amiable light. He has been discoursing on the gift of piety, when he makes the following digression :—

And here, because we speak of the works of piety or pity, very pity moveth me to exhort you to mercy and pity on the poor students

in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which were never fewer in number. And yet they that be left be ready to run abroad into the world, and to leave their study for very need. Iniquity is so abundant that charity is all cold. A man would have pity to hear the lamentable complaints that I heard lately, being among them; which would to God I were able to relieve. This I shall assure you that, in my opinion, ye cannot better bestow your charity. Our Saviour saith, Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetæ mercedem prophetæ accipiet. He that receiveth, cherisheth, or maintaineth a prophet in the name of a prophet, or as a prophet, he shall secure the reward of a prophet. All the preachers be prophets. Therefore he that cherisheth and maintaineth a preacher because he is a preacher more than for any other carnal occasion, shall have the reward of a preacher, which is a wondrous reward. "They that instruct and teach many to justice and virtue shall shine like stars into everlasting eternity." As in example: If this exhortation and sermon which I now most unworthy make to you, do any good to the souls of this audience, I doubt not but my reward shall not be forgotten, if there be none other stop or impediment on my behalf. And my parents that set me to school in youth, and my good Lord William Smith, some time Bishop of Lincoln, my bringer up and exhibitor, first in Banbury to grammar school, with Master John Stanbridge, and then in Oxford, till I was Master of Art and able to help myself, shall have reward in heaven, for the ghostly comfort that you receive by this my labour.

If Edgeworth loved learning and hated innovations in doctrine, there were two classes of men for whom he nourished special contempt and aversion—the real priests who were weary of the obligations of their state, especially those who were unfaithful to their vows of celibacy, and the false priests or uneducated ministers who, in the reign of Edward, had been thrust into the place of the better class of clergy who had refused to yield to the Government. He thus comments on S. Paul's warning against ordaining neophytes:—

As who should say, yesterday at the cart or in the barn among his corn and his threshers, or in the common market, and to-day at the altar to entreat the Sacrament: yesterday at the open assizes, sessions, lawdays, or the courts, and to-day to minister in the church; yesterday at dice and cards and all unthrifty games, and to-day to turn and read the holy books of the Scriptures, or the holy mass-book; yesterday to dancing and dallying, and to-day to consecrate priests, widows, and virgins. Such sudden changes St. Paul liketh not.

And in another place he leaves no doubt to whom he refers:—

St. Peter here professeth himself to be a priest, and a priest not made at all adventures, as these lewd ministers be made nowadays of

shoemakers, smiths, cobblers, and clouters, as well married as single, but one taught and brought up under the Prince of Priests, our Saviour Christ.

He is equally outspoken in his references to the validly-ordained priests, who, as is well known, embraced wives and the Lutheran doctrines together. He complained that many of the clergy dressed like laymen, "by that declaring that they be ashamed of their order, and would be glad to pull their head out of that yoke if they might." His sermon on the duties of the priesthood got him little thanks from this class of men. "And most aggrieved they were with me because I said nothing in the defence of their shameful and incestuous bawdry, which they would cover with the name of matrimony, so by them slandering that holy sacrament." The casting off all kind of dress distinctive of the clerical state—a custom against which Queen Elizabeth made injunctions which were often disregarded—was closely connected with the marriage of the clergy. To understand the connection between these two things, we must entirely put aside modern notions. The marriage of the Protestant clergy is of course perfectly legitimate, and approved of by public opinion. The wives of the clergy share the respectability or social position of their husbands, though not their titles. It is their interest that their husbands should be recognised as clergymen, and those of High Church proclivities even like to think that they are married to priests. It seems to add an ecclesiastical charm to social rank. But the case was very different at the beginning of the Reformation. The people knew that the real priests could not marry; and the association of the clerical state with celibacy was so deeply impressed on their minds that, in spite of the permission granted by the law, or the Queen's proclamations, it was almost universally felt that neither priest nor preacher should marry. The wives of the clergy were spoken of with contempt, and in proportion as their husbands were considered to be priests or ecclesiastics their own position was abject or suspected. The married priests and ministers therefore were eager to repudiate all claims of priesthood in order to justify their conduct, and in this they were seconded most zealously by their wives. These women dreaded nothing more than that their husbands should look like priests or bear the name. Harding, in his "*Confutation of Jewel's Apology*," sneers at "your trim beards, your polled heads, your handsome breeches, your Flemish and English ruffs, and the like trim-trams, wherein your yolk-fellows would fain have you to be like proper gentlemen, and so far unlike to the Catholick clergy as ye might be, lest they should be called priests' concubines."

Those who derive their notions of the Reformation from Burnet and Foxe think, no doubt, that gravity was the characteristic of those of the clergy who embraced the new opinions. Edgeworth gives a very different picture. Over and over again he complains that scurrility and mockery were made to take the place of argument. The following passage is one out of many :—

If a priest say his matins or evensong, with other divine service daily, according to his bounden duty, he shall be mocked and jested at, yea and not only of light brains of the laife, but also of men of our own coat and profession, lewd and foolish priests, that neither serve God devoutly, nor the world justly and diligently, but give themselves to walking the streets, and beating the bulks with their heels, chattering light and lewd matters, full unseeming for their profession, and some of them more given to reading these foolish English books full of heresies, than any true expositors of Holy Scriptures. Such men be they that dastain the ancient gravity of the Church, and such be most prone and ready to mock all them that intend well.

It may be thought that Edgeworth delighted in reproaches. I must, therefore, in justice to him, give one passage in which he bestows well-deserved praise :—

I doubt not (he says) but that in this troublous time of new opinions and errors that hath now many a day persecuted the minds of good faithful people, the steadfast and faithful conversation of the honest wives hath stayed their husbands in the right trade, and made them good men, where else they would have erred as others have done, as well in this city (Bristol) as in other places.

There are two other passages in which Edgeworth describes his own experiences, which have received a new interest from disputes which have of late years been carried before the Privy Council. One is concerning the use of images, the other regards the position of the celebrant at the altar or communion table.

Because I spoke even now of images and idols, I would you should not ignorantly confound and abuse those terms, taking an image for an idol, or an idol for an image, as I have heard many do in this city (Bristol), as well of the fathers and mothers, that should be wise, as of their babies and children that have learned foolishness of their parents.

Now at the dissolution of monasteries and of friars' houses many images have been carried abroad, and given to children to play withal. And when the children have them in their hands, dancing them after their childish manner, cometh the father or the mother and saith : "What nasse, what hast thou there?" The child answereth, as she is taught : "I have here mine idol." The father laugheth and maketh a gay game at it. So saith the mother to another : "Jugge,

or Thommye, where haddest thou that pretty idol?" "John, our parish clerk, gave it me," saith the child, and for that the clerk must have thanks, and shall lack no good cheer.

But if this folly were only in the insolent youth, or in the fond unlearned fathers and mothers, it might soon be redressed. But your preachers that you so obstinately follow, more leaning to the vulgar noise and common error of the people than to profound learning, they babble in the pulpit that they hear the people rejoice in.*

The second passage I commend to the attention of those who contend so warmly about the meaning of the Anglican rubric, and who appeal to antiquity for its interpretation:—

This is the very property of heresies, they be ever unsteadfast and not agreeing among themselves. But some take one way and some another, and that (which) pleaseth at one time displeaseth at another time. For example: How many manners and divers ways of ministering the communion have we had amongst us?

I have known one while the priest to take the bread upon the paten of the chalice, and turned his back to the altar, and his face down to the people, and said the words of consecration over the bread and then laid it upon the altar, and afterwards done likewise with the chalice and the wine.

Then because there seemed too much reverence to be given to the Sacrament by this way, the people were all driven out of the church except the ministers,† that the communion should not be commonly seen nor worshipped.

And anon that way seemed not best, and therefore there was veils or curtains drawn, yea, and in some churches the very Lent-cloth,‡ or veil, hanged up though it were with Alleluia in the Easter time, to hide it, that no man should see what the priest did, nor hear what he said.

Then this way pleased not, and the altars were pulled down and the tables set up, and all the observance said in English, and that openly that all men might hear and see what was done, and the bread commanded to be common-used bread, leavened with salt, barm, and such other.

And then soon after were all corporaces§ taken away, to extenuate

* Does not the above passage explain the origin of our modern word Doll? Richardson in his dictionary (*sub hac voce*) shows that it was not in general use in the time of Dryden. Yet he quotes a book of the date of 1573, which translates "O capitulum lepidissimum" of Terence by "O little prettie doll polle." He conjectures that its origin may be the Dutch word "dol" (senseless). Dr. Ogilvie, in the Imperial Dictionary, gives several rather unlikely derivations, but seems to prefer that from *idol*. Edgeworth seems to show how it got thus derived.

† i.e., servers or assistants.

‡ On the Lent-veil, see Dr. Rock's "Church of our Fathers," vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 221—223.

§ Corporals.

the honour of the sacrament, and it laid down on the profane broad-cloth.

And at the said tables the priest one while turned his face eastward; another while turned his back eastward and his face toward the west, as the Jews used to worship. And anon, by commandment, turned his back southward and his face to the north, and finally, after the last book that was set forth, he turned his face to the south. And this book made sweepstake of the Blessed Sacrament, declaring there to be nothing else but bare bread and wine. This pulling down of altars and setting up of boards was used by the heretics that were of Arius' sect, &c.

I am fully aware that I have gone to a length of quotation that would be quite unpardonable were the volume from which these extracts are taken accessible to the reader. I would willingly, however, have added several other passages bearing directly on Bristol, and the character of its people and their religious feuds and factions. I must, however, be content with recommending the future historian of Bristol to search well this volume, since his predecessors have hitherto made little or no use of it. My purpose will have been attained if I should have drawn attention to this and similar volumes of sermons or of controversy as sources for that Catholic History of the Reformation which is yet waiting for a competent historian. I must conclude with a short notice of Edgeworth himself, subsequent to the publication of this volume. In one of its last pages he had bewailed how fear of royal authority had overthrown many in the days of Edward. It is probable that Edgeworth little thought when he published these words in 1557 that the royal supremacy was so soon to try his own faith and constancy. How did he stand the trial? Dodd says that on the accession of Elizabeth he was deprived of all his preferments, thus indicating his refusal to accept the new state of things. But his own will is still in existence at Somerset House, and I am enabled to publish (I believe for the first time) this interesting and rather singular document. It will serve the same purpose as the extracts I have made from Edgeworth's sermons, by shedding light on the curious bewilderment into which men were sometimes thrown by the sudden changes of those times.

1559. Dec. 24. Roger Edgeworth, Doctor of Divinity, and Canon Residentiary, and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew's, in Wells, Co. Somerset.

I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, my Maker and Redeemer, and to all the glorious company of heaven, and my body to be buried in the body of the Cathedral Church aforesaid, directly afore the choir door, if I die in Wells. And a large marble stone, with an

epitaph in process to be graven in the same stone, to be laid upon my grave. I give to the fabric of the said Cathedral Church of Wells, 40s.; to the Cathedral Church of Sarum, 40s., in recompense of a cope which I did say I should give to the said church. To my late parish church of Christ Church, in Wales, 40s. To my late servant, Philip Lydiere, all he owes me and 6s. 8d. more. To my late servant, Powell, 40s., and my grey, ambling mare I bought in Holderness. (Sundry legacies to domestic servants.) I give to Oriel College, in Oxford, where I was sometime fellow, all Chrysostom's works in five volumes, to be chained in the library of the said college, with 6s. 8d. for the chaining and arming of the same. And if they have them before, I will they, with two great volumes of St. Ambrose, to be delivered to one master of arts, student in divinity, fellow of the same college, born next to the Castle of Holt, in the Marches of Wales, beside West Chester; the said seven volumes to be produced on the 2nd November every year before the fellows, and then delivered to the same student, or some other of like degree, born near the said Castle.

I will at my burying the whole choir of Wells be present, and every person have at evening prayer 8d., at communion 8d., and to set my corpse to the church 4d.; and at my month's mind, to every person at evening prayer 6d., and at morning prayer 6d.; and at my burying, to two honest priests 16d. apiece, to say the whole Psalter for my negligences.

I give £6 13s. 4d., owing me by David Harris of Bristol, to two honest men, being of kin to Watkin Williams, late of Abergavenny, in Wales, for the use of the children of the said Watkin Williams; and, if none are living, to be dealt in alms for the soul of Mr. John Williams, sometime chaplain and cross-bearer to my Lord Cardinal of York, and brother to the said Watkin.

To every of my brother Robert Edgeworth's daughters, toward their marriage, a piece of my plate, with the cover, and 40s. apiece, to be given them at their marriage, if they marry before they are twenty, and if they die before, I will it go to the sons of my said brother Robert, deceased.

I make my sister-in-law, late wife of my said brother Robert, Roger Edgeworth, son of my said brother, and my cousin Richard Stokes, executors; and give the said Roger my silver ale cup, and the cover, and 40s. in money; and to Richard Stokes 40s. And I make Mr. Thomas Jury my overseer, and give him 40s., and St. Gregory's works in two vols., one part containing the Morals and the other the Epistles.

Residue (my lease of the pasture and meadow at Mellisborough only excepted) I give, part to be expended in works of mercy and pity for my soul's health, and part for the bringing up of the children of my said brother Robert, which I account a great part of pity and mercy, because that when I am gone they are like to have small succour.

If my cousin Roger Edgeworth die before performing my will, I

will neither his wife nor executors have anything to do with it. Signed 24 Decr., 1559.

To my cousin, Sir Richard Edgeworth, £10 in money, and my scarlet gown, my murray gown, and my best furred gown. To Edward Edgeworth, £10.

Witnesses, Thomas Jury, priest; Griffith Powell.

Proved at London, 1 June, 1560, by Roger Edgeworth, one of the executors, and power reserved to Margaret Edgeworth and Richard Stokes, the others.

It must be admitted that this will might lead an incautious reader to conclude that Edgeworth relapsed once more into schism and heresy before his death.

There is no doubt that he had ever believed firmly in the holy sacrifice of the Mass. To quote his own words*—

This sacrifice we be taught and commanded to use by the eternal Priest after the order of Melchisedech, our Saviour Jesus Christ at His Last Supper, sacrificing unto His Father bread and wine turned by the virtue of His holy and mighty word into His own body and blood. And in this doing most devoutly is called to man's remembrance His blessed immolation on the Cross, and is presented unto His Father for health and grace to them that be alive, and for rest and quietness for all them that be departed in faith.

Much more to the same purpose might be quoted. He had also denounced, as we have seen, the pulling down of altars and the Edwardian communion service. Yet the altars had been again pulled down, and the wooden tables or "profane boards," as he had styled them, set up in their stead. Since the 25th June, at least, the Holy Mass had ceased and the same communion service was again in use, from which every allusion to sacrifice had been excluded. Yet he desires his soul to be prayed for at this communion. Are we to conclude that he had altogether yielded, in despite of his conscience, to the new religion? I do not think this follows. If, indeed, it could be proved that he had taken the oath of supremacy voted by Parliament in the preceding April, and thus once more by his own act cut himself off from the Holy See, we should be obliged to count him among wilful perjurers and schismatics. But it seems probable that he had not done this. From Bishop Kennet's Collections it appears that he resigned his vicarage of St. Cuthbert's, Wells, on 22nd March 1558-9. He speaks also in his will of his *late* parish of Christ Church. He still indeed retained his prebends, but we have no evidence that the oath had been exacted at the date of his will. The dioceses of Bristol and of Salisbury were without bishops. Bourne, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, had

* Fol. 93.

not taken the oath, yet he was not deprived before the end of September. The Bishops of Ely, Exeter, and Peterborough were not deprived for the refusal of the oath until November. From a letter of Robert Horn, Dean of Durham, to Cecil, dated February 18th, 1560, it appears that the oath was only then being required of the canons of Durham, and some were refusing it.* It is therefore by no means improbable that Edgeworth had hitherto been unmolested in his canonries. It was not the policy of Elizabeth at that time to disturb such as were not dangerous, and as Edgeworth was old and sick, it was probably thought best to let death make void his preferments. From the resignation which he had certainly made of his cures, we are bound in charity to conclude that he would have resigned his prebends also, had it been necessary, for conscience sake. If he submitted to imprisonment in Edward's reign rather than conform to what he thought heretical, why should we suppose him less firm in the time of Elizabeth? It is clear that the Catholics then in possession could not lawfully yield their places to the Protestant faction, and thus deliver up the country once more to heresy, so long as they could hold them without clear participation in heresy or schism. But in those first days no renunciation of any point of Catholic faith was required, with the exception of the oath of supremacy, and the use of the English communion service. As to the first it was made purposely ambiguous, and so explained in the Queen's Injunctions that some Catholics thought at first that they might lawfully take it. We have, however, no proof that Edgeworth was one of these. His resignation of his parishes rather indicates the contrary. As to the communion service it is clear that, whatever he may have thought of it, he did not judge it unlawful to die in communion with those who took part in it. But who were these? Not modern Protestant ministers, bound to the Thirty-nine Articles. They were validly ordained priests and clerics, professing the Catholic faith, and clinging to their places not merely for temporal advantage, but to keep wolves out of the sheepfold. Edgeworth's will is signed on 24th December, 1559. Gilbert Barclay, the Protestant bishop, was not consecrated for the See of Wells until the 24th March of the following year. In this state of things Edgeworth dies. To die without making provision for his soul was a thing not to be dreamt of. What was he to do? Let any one examine the wills of that period, and he will find how perplexed men were to answer that question, and that Edgeworth solved it like many others. One,

* P.R.O. Dom. Elizabeth, vol. xi. n. 16.

for example, and he a priest, dying in 1551,* when mass had been abolished under Edward, asked "for dirge and communion with note on the day of my burial, and alms to the poor to pray for my soul." Another, in the first year of Elizabeth, bequeaths to his ghostly father a certain sum "to have him in remembrance,"† his ghostly father having no doubt previously promised to say masses privately for him. In 1560 John Hartburne wished to be buried "with laudable ceremonies as are permitted by the law," yet at the same time leaves a certain sum to a friendly priest to pray for him.‡ While in 1561, Bartholemew Lilburne, almost despairing of getting the holy sacrifice offered, and not knowing properly whether the Church established by law was or was not tainted by the schism and heresy of the Government, asks that his body may be buried "with such duties as the Church is endowed with, as it pleaseth Almighty God for to provide."§ But a still clearer proof that many, thoroughly Catholic at heart, saw but very dimly their way through the labyrinth, may be found in a document,|| or pamphlet supposed to have been written by Bonner's chaplain in 1561, in which such questions as the following are discussed: "Whether be priests in schism that have subscribed to the religion now used in England?"—"Whether be priests in schism that minister the communion and other sacraments according to the book of common prayer now set forth?"—"Whether they be in schism that minister no sacrament, but only, instead of divine service, read chapters and psalms, &c., before the people?"—"Whether it is lawful for priests that say the communion also to celebrate mass?"—"Whether it be lawful for priests to say mass which say no communion, but only read psalms and chapters to the people, instead of service?" The fact that it was necessary to discuss such questions as these shows how interest on the one hand, and unwillingness to desert God's flock on the other, made priests adopt sophistical reasonings, and strain their consciences, even when matters had gone farther and the course of duty was clearer than when Edgeworth died. Let him then, who can be suspected of no sinister motive in providing for his soul's health, after it should have passed the judgment-seat, be absolved from the guilt of formal schism, though the schism of Elizabeth drove him to strange courses. He says in his will that he was having an epitaph prepared for his grave. No monument whatever was erected. It is to be presumed then that the inscription which expressed his

* "Wills of the Northern Counties" (Surtees Society), p. 135.

† *Ibid.*, p. 185.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

|| It will be found printed among Pilkington's works, p. 617-639.

last sentiments was contrary to the new order of things, and thus the absence of a memorial gives some little lustre to his memory, just as the pompous epitaphs of Dean Genings, before alluded to, and of others like him, are lasting monuments of their infamy. If we cannot class Roger Edgeworth as a saint or confessor with Fisher, I hope he may be admitted among the learned, irresolute, yet pious and Catholic-minded men at the head of whom was Fisher's friend, Cuthbert Tunstal.

T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

ART. V.—AFGHANISTAN.*

1. *History of the War in Afghanistan.* By John William Kaye, F.R.S. 3 Vols. Third edition. W. H. Allen. 1874.
2. *The Punjab and North-West Frontier of India.* By an Old Punjaabee. C. Kegan Paul. 1878.
3. *Bannú; or, Our Afghan Frontier.* By W. S. Thorburn. Trübner. 1876.
4. *The Northern Barrier of India.* By Frederick Drew. Edward Stanford. 1877.
5. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*
6. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.*
7. *Journal of the Geological Society.*

THE countries included within the present boundaries of Afghanistan are Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Afghan-Turkestan or Bactria (including Balkh, Badakshan, and Wakhan), and Kafiristan. It may be divided into two regions, eastern and western, watered respectively by the rivers Kabul and Helmund.

The kingdom of the Afghans was formerly known by the names of Drangia and Ariana. Afghan is its Persian name. It is bounded on the north by Turkestan, on the east by Peshawur and Scinde, on the south by Beloochistan, and on the west by Persia. The extent of the country thus indicated is about six hundred miles from east to west, and five hundred and fifty from north to south.

Its most characteristic feature is its general elevation. It may be called a great elevated block, lying between the basin of

* This Article was written before the British advance on Afghanistan; a circumstance which will account for its not referring pointedly to what the journals are telling us, day by day. Its interest, however, as a description of the country and of the frontier passes will be in no way diminished by the rapid march of events.

the Caspian Sea and the low-lying valleys of Turkestan on the north, and the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea on the south. Its mountains, guarding it on all sides, shut it off from surrounding countries. It is broken up by wide valleys, radiating from the stupendous peaks of the Koh-i-baba, and everywhere bounded by rugged and precipitous mountains. These valleys are, strictly speaking, plateaux of from 5000 to 7000 feet above the sea. They receive the drainage of many streams, flowing in various directions. The great drawback of the country is that none of its rivers flow to the sea, or even beyond the limits of the kingdom; and, moreover, they are generally exhausted during the summer season before they reach the limit of their course. A considerable amount of the water is carried off by cuttings on the banks made for irrigation.

The most important river of Afghanistan is the Kabul, which rises in the Unai pass, near the source of its rival, the Helmund. Many tributary rivers flow into it. Receiving the drainage of the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush on the left, and the northern water-shed of the Sufed Koh on the right, it joins the Indus at Attock, after a course of three hundred miles. Next to the Kabul river in importance is the Helmund, which rises in the angle formed by the inclination of the Koh-i-Baba and Paghman ranges. It flows first south-west, then westerly and north-westerly for more than seven hundred miles, until it discharges itself into the Siestan Lake by several mouths.

But a far more remarkable river than either the Kabul or the Helmund is the Indus. The Indus, though it is not properly a river of Afghanistan, cannot be passed over in treating of the north-west frontier of India; for it lies like a natural rampart, stretching from the Himalayas to the sea, along the whole line of those mountain walls from which the warriors of Afghanistan and Beloochistan look down upon the British possessions. On the Indus, or its tributaries, stand cities such as Mooltan and Lahore, whose names are familiar in old history, and in the recent story of the British arms. On its waters are our steamers, and on its banks our railways. Though it is a hundred miles from the frontier, still we know that the power of England will rest upon it as on its base, whenever again we have to scale the walls of Afghanistan. After its junction with the Kabul at Attock, it runs on in a deep, but comparatively narrow, stream between high banks of perpendicular rocks. This magnificent river, in the Kashmere plain, and for a considerable distance, is no less than 10,500 feet above the sea. Its banks, as it flows southwards, are of black porphyry stone, polished till it shines like marble by the united force of the stream, and of the white sand which it carries along with it.

The Indus, after a narrow, tortuous course amongst hills and mountains of more than one thousand miles, through which it rushes with the rapidity of a torrent, bursts through a gorge of its own making in the salt range, at the quaint old town of Kalabagh, and flows placidly through the valley in a southerly direction for the next forty miles of its course. Immediately above Kalabagh, it is under a quarter of a mile in width at its highest flood; but a few miles further down, as if rejoicing in its freedom, its breadth from bank to bank increases to ten miles, and during the summer floods, when swollen by thousands of torrents and fed by the melting snows of the Himalayas, its waters reach from one bank to the other. This mighty stream is a capricious tyrant, and hundreds of thousands to whom it is the dispenser of life and death anxiously watch its annual rise and fall. From the point of its emerging from the hill country, to Karrischee, near which it discharges its water into the Indian Ocean, the Indus travels six hundred miles, with an average width, in flood season, of ten or twelve miles. The number of villages on its banks or in its bed cannot be less than 2500, and at the lowest computation the subsistence of two and a half millions of human beings depends on this river's vagaries.

Within the last twenty years it has ruined many once-thriving villages, by converting their lands into sand wastes, or engulfing them altogether; while it has enriched others with a fertilising deposit, and raised their inhabitants from a condition of wretched cattle graziers, struggling for existence, to that of prosperous peasant proprietors.

Its last freak in the district south of Peshawur was to shift its chief channel eight miles to the east, a feat which it accomplished between the years 1856 and 1864. In doing so it submerged between seventy and eighty square miles of *cultivated* land and seventeen villages. From this we may judge how it may have fared during the same period with the hundreds of villages within its influence farther south.—*Bannú*; or, *Our Afghan Frontier*, pp. 9, 10.

Afghanistan is separated from the great plains of the Indus by lofty and almost impassable mountains. The Alpine region of the Hindu Kush is a continuation of the Himalayas. This wild picturesque mountainous isthmus is torn asunder by numerous ravines, whose sides tower up into the region of perpetual ice and snow. It unites the highlands of Eastern with those of Western Asia, and forms a most formidable obstruction to communication between the territory of the Oxus and that of the Indus. It is the Caucasus of the historians of Alexander the Great. The loftiest of its peaks are 21,000 feet in height. The picturesque beauty and appalling grandeur of many of the ravines of the Hindu Kush are nowhere surpassed, while the soft still loveliness of some of the little sheltered glens on the southern slope of this range, covered with pine and oak, equally excite the admiration of travellers. This mighty range has always formed

the chief barrier between the plains of Hindostan and their invaders from the north-west. It is pierced by more than twenty passes, which all lead from the basin of the Oxus into that of the Kabul river, of which the Hindu Kush is the water-shed. But with the exception of two or three, little is yet known of these passes. The Hindu Kush is connected with the great Paghman range, and a spur or branch runs on to the north of Kandahar. The Sufed Koh is also connected with the Hindu Kush by the Attock chain. This mountain range is covered with pine and almond-trees, its luxuriant valleys resembling orchards and gardens, full of fruit-trees. The Suliman range is also another mighty mountain barrier. As it runs southward, it branches off into twelve distinct ridges, "like battalions, in columns of companies at quarter distance." It is pierced by a multitude of small streams. As to the interior of the country, the whole district to the right of the road from Kabul to Herat west, and extending to the Hindu Kush ridge north, a distance of three hundred and sixty miles west, and from two to three degrees north and south, is one complete mass of mountains. Throughout the whole region a horseman can scarcely pass. In describing the grandeur of the Afghanistan mountains Elphinstone says: "The stupendous heights of their lofty summits, the various nations by whom they are seen, and who appear to be brought together by this common object, and the awful undisturbed solitude which reigns amidst their eternal snows, fill the mind with awe and astonishment that no language can express."

The mountains of Afghanistan present, as may be supposed, a wide field for the researches of the geologist. On their geological features, however, there is no time at present to dwell. But there is one curious point connected with the rock-formation of these Asian highlands which must be briefly noticed, as it affects both economy and politics. From the South-eastern side of Sufed Koh, on the south side of those steep ranges which on their northern side enclose the Khyber Pass, there shoots out a line of mountains of *salt*. This great salt range extends into British India, and crosses the Indus near Kalabagh. It consists almost entirely of salt, which is dug out in various forms. To the eastward it yields a rock-salt of a brownish colour; in other parts the salt is as clear as crystal, and so hard that they make plates and dishes and build walls with it. These rocks are the sediment of an immense sea existing during or before the Silurian epoch, and of later seas of the Tertiary age. The first sea is computed, by Sir Roderick Murchison, to have spread over an area of 8000 square marine leagues, and to have extended from the Hindu Kush to the European shores of the Black Sea. The later sea was much smaller. From these seas resulted the formation of

these enormous deposits of rock-salt. The Eocene trans-Indus salt is of a grey colour, and not so massive. The older salt-rocks are in some parts 1230 feet thick. These beds have been subject to the same denuding influences as the stratified rocks. At a rough estimate, it is calculated that, supposing the areas in which salt is found to amount together to five square miles, with an average thickness of only two hundred feet, the mass of salt would be more than fifteen thousand millions of tons—sufficient, after making ample allowance for denudation, to last, at the present rate of consumption, for forty thousand years. It is estimated that no less than four hundred and fifty thousand cubic feet of salt are annually dissolved and removed by denudation. The quaint old town of Kalabagh, situated among these hills on the banks of the Indus, in the British territory of the Punjaub, is built of salt. Though in the year 1841 half the town and gardens were swept away by one of the floods of the Indus, it still contains upwards of 5000 inhabitants. This curious little town is picturesquely situated on the right bank of the river. The houses, rising one above another on the hill-side, nestle, closely packed in confusion, amidst the glistening carnation-coloured salt of the rocks. The British Government levies a tax of a penny a pound on all salt quarried in the range. And, moreover, the inhabitants are heavily fined should they attempt to eat any of their houses, half the town being built entirely of salt, and on salt. Even their cattle, if they loiter by the way to lick the rocks or the house-walls, are made to move on by stern constables, whose mud and salt sentry-boxes are perched about on every commanding knoll.

The country of Afghanistan presents not only every kind of geographical formation, but almost every variety of climate. This is owing to the difference of elevation, rather than of latitude. At Kabul and Ghuzni—the latter being 7730 feet above the sea—the summer heats are tempered by cool breezes from the adjacent snow-clad mountains, although they are by no means free from the force of the Indian sun. The heat is also considerably mitigated by the influence of the south-east monsoons. But here, as well as at Hazarah, the winters are intensely severe, and the people shut themselves up in their houses for several months. In Khorassan—as its name, “Land of the Sun,” indicates—the summer heat is extremely oppressive, and it is rendered still more so by the dense clouds of dust with which the atmosphere is often filled. The radiation from the bare rocks and dry sandy soil also increases the heat, and it has neither monsoon nor regular rain to cool the air and moisten the parched ground. The characteristic features of Khorassan are chiefly its low ranges of bare rocky hills skirting elevated, sandy

or gravelly plateaux, which are ordinarily arid wastes, terminating on their south-western extremity by a sandy desert, once a large sea. For nine months in the year the sun shines with great splendour in Afghanistan; and the nights are even more beautiful than the days, so that people may travel in perfect safety by the brilliant starlight only. But during the night the atmosphere is charged with such a quantity of electricity, that the least friction will draw sparks, with a slight crackling noise, from anything that is rubbed.

The south-west monsoon is the peculiar rainy season of India. It extends from Africa to the Malay Peninsula, deluging all the intermediate countries within certain lines of latitude four times a year. Its approach is announced by vast masses of clouds rising from the Indian Ocean, which advance towards the south-east, gathering and thickening as they approach the land. The monsoon begins in June, and usually sets in during the night, after several threatening days, accompanied by such a thunder-storm as can hardly be imagined by those who have only seen the moderate storms of our temperate climate. After raging a few hours the hurricane is succeeded by heavy rain for a few days. When the sky at length clears, the whole face of nature is seen to be changed, as if by enchantment. Instead of the parched and withered vegetation, the earth is covered with a delicious verdure, the rivers are full, and the air is pure and balmy. From this time the rain falls heavily at intervals until the end of September, when it departs as it came, amidst thunder and tempest.

Afghanistan is well supplied with rich stores of the most useful metals. In the Hindu Kush and some of the neighbouring smaller mountains—whose centres are formed of basaltic, quartz, and mica-schist rocks—ores of iron and lead are found in abundance, with sulphur, coal, saltpetre, &c.

The hill of Pooshtikhui, which is covered with snow all the year round, contains many valuable mines of silver, lapis lazuli, iron, and antimony. And nearer the Oxus, at some distance from the ridge, are the ruby mines. Near Meshed, on the side of Derrood, are two small eminences called the Gold and Silver Mountains, in which these metals are found in considerable quantity, but they have as yet been very little worked. A gold mine was lately discovered in a small creek at the foot of the hills north of Kandahar. These hills are of hard, compact, blue-limestone, though the surface of the creek and adjoining plain consists of coarse gravel, containing fragments of greenstone, hornblende, quartz, and mica. The mine is a wide excavation, straight down into the soil, in a soft, easily worked rock, quite

different from any in the neighbourhood; it is decomposed syenite, or granite. The stones of the excavated rock consist of particles of greenstone, felspar, quartz, hornblende, &c., bound together in a ferruginous clay. In 1860, a shepherd-boy, tending his flock by the creek, picked up a bit of milky-looking quartz, studded with granules of gold. He showed it to his father, who, in the hope of getting something for it, took it to a Hindu. The latter, though recognising its value, pretended it was worthless. He took care, however, to find out the exact spot where it had been found, and at once went and informed the Governor, claiming a reward. The site was immediately explored, and at a few feet below the superficial gravel the ferruginous soil of pulverised quartz, &c., was exposed, and in the veins on its surface a good deal of gold was seen. The land was at once claimed by the Government, who had it worked for their benefit. During the first few years it is said to have yielded very abundantly. It is now let, at a rental of five hundred pounds, to a contractor, who works it at his own cost.

The principal salt mine of Afghanistan at present in operation is at Dooletaly, about six miles from Medene or Maidane—thirty miles distant from Nishapoor. Dooletaly is an enormous rock, covered on its surface with a thin layer of reddish clay; this salt is beautifully white, and of a very fine grain. The mine is let out by the Government to the highest bidder.

Near to Medene also, on the side of the Benaloo Koh mountains, are the only known turquoise mines in the world. The road to them runs through high, bare, porphyry rocks, which at their highest point have a metallic appearance, showing evidently the presence of iron. In the middle of broken rocky ground stand the two villages of the miners, one on the side of the hill, the other in the valley close by. The turquoises are divided into two classes, according to the position in which they are found. Those called *sengni*, or stony, are incrustated in the matrix, which must be removed by a blow from the hammer; they are of a deep blue colour. The others are found on washing the alluvial deposits, and are called *klaki*, or earthy; these are generally larger, but being paler are of less value. Most valuable stones are sometimes found amongst the *débris* of the old workings, and at the bottom of shafts long abandoned. Excavations have been made one above the other, though chiefly at the base of the mountain. As many as twenty-five or thirty together of these stones are incrustated near to one another, each of them enveloped in a thin calcareous covering. On the side of this mountain are also found carbonate of copper, blue and green, as are the best varieties of malachite. Occasionally turquoises of immense size

are found in the workings. Futteh Ali Shah had one formed into a drinking-cup, and among the treasures of Venice there is, or was, one which weighed several pounds.

The vegetable productions of Afghanistan are not only those of the tropical plains of India and those common to European countries, but there are also a few peculiar to the country itself and to Persia. Wheat, barley, maize, millet, rice, lentils, dates, pistachio nuts, and the sugar cane are very abundant. Cotton and tobacco are largely cultivated and exported. Every variety of fruits are plentiful. Over the greater part of Afghanistan there are two yearly harvests, as in India, but in the loftiest regions there is only one. The cultivation is entirely dependent on the water supply. This, owing to the small volume of the rivers generally, is limited in extent. What there is, however, is utilised to the best advantage, and spread over the cultivated tracts by numerous canals, and irrigation cuts, fed either from rivers or springs. Of the industrial products of Afghanistan little can be said. The Afghans are not a manufacturing people, and they make merely such articles as are necessary for themselves—a coarse kind of cotton cloth, felt, turbans, and sheep-skin coats. The trade in the latter, however, has much increased of late, owing to this kind of garment having been adopted in the British army as part of the winter clothing. The animals of Afghanistan are the horse, camel, cow, sheep, goat, and poultry, the Persian long-haired cat and greyhound, together with the buffalo, tiger, hyena, leopard, elk, &c. Fish is neither abundant in quantity nor variety. Vast multitudes of birds of every kind are seen, the vicinity of the mountains teeming with pheasants of various kinds, of most beautiful plumage, and there is abundance of wild-fowl. Reptiles also are common, among them venomous scorpions and snakes.

The rural population is settled along the courses of the rivers in detached farmsteads, usually composed of a cluster of three or four tenements together, surrounded by their own fields, vineyards, orchards, and plantations. These farmyards extend from the suburbs of the cities, in all directions, to the very edge of the cultivated tracts, where they terminate on the verge of the desert. In some localities, trees, fields, and houses continue uninterruptedly for a distance of from ten to fifteen miles along the course of the larger canals. To the traveller approaching from the desert, in the spring season, the first appearance of one of these settlements conveys the idea of dense population and profuse abundance; but he soon finds that the dwellings of the people, except in the villages, are widely scattered, and dot the surface at such intervals that scarcely fifty are within the range of sight at one time. He will also learn that the vegeta-

tion only flourishes from April to October, so that the produce of six months has to feed the people for twelve, and that without any assistance from external supplies.

The roads and routes are for the most part bad and dangerous ; there are none yet suited for wheel carriages, and there are no bridges, so that travelling is both difficult and inconvenient. Goods are chiefly conveyed on camels, and on some of the larger routes there are caravans. The road to Kabul, for instance, lies for a great distance through close ravines and narrow stony glens, among bare mountains ; sometimes it runs along the beds of torrents, and at others it leads over high and craggy masses. The road along Gomal is within the bed of a river, and if the stream rises the caravan is obliged to seek shelter in some nook between it and the hills, and there remain till the water falls. The late Major H. James, Commissioner of Peshawur, says :

Those who have travelled much among the Afghans and visited them in their sequestered valleys, must retain a pleasing impression of the general characteristics of their homes. Emerging from wild and craggy defiles, with a solitary tower here and there perched up on the overhanging rocks, the stranger comes suddenly upon the village site ; springs of refreshing clearness pass from rocky cisterns to the brook which had repeatedly crossed his path in the defile, and which is here fringed with rows of weeping willows, and edged with brightest sward. The village is generally half-hid from view with overshadowing mulberry and poplar-trees, the surrounding fields enamelled with a profusion of wild flowers and fragrant with aromatic herbs. . . . At some distance is seen a wood of thorn and tamarisk, in which are the graves of the village forefathers ; an enclosing wall of stone and the olive garlands which are suspended from the overhanging tree pointing out the zigarut of some one of their saintly ancients, which children pass with awe and old men with reverence.

They have a great respect for burial-grounds, which in some places they call by the poetical name of *cities of the silent*, and which they people with the spirits of the departed, who sit each at the head of his own grave, invisible to mortal eyes, and enjoy the odours of the garlands which are hung on their tombs and of the incense which is burned by their sorrowing relations.

Their cities, with the exception of two or three decayed mosques of the Arab period, are devoid of any architectural merit, whilst the mud-built houses composing their towns and homesteads cannot for a moment be compared with the picturesque edifices of an Indian city.

KABUL lies at the foot of a range of hills. It is built directly under a huge rock of gneiss that rises a thousand feet above it. The Kabul river runs through the city, which is on an elevation of more than seven thousand feet above

the sea. The population is about sixty thousand. Kabul consists of a broken succession of houses, composed of mud walls of different elevations, pierced here and there with wooden pipes to carry off the rain from the flat roofs. The square low doors open under the eaves of the first story, which projects over a sort of pathway formed by the wearing away of the middle of the road, so irregular that no wheel carriage could be safely driven over it. The Bala Hissar, or fort, the beautiful little white marble mosque, and the great bazaar were the only buildings worthy of notice in this city before it was burnt in 1842.

The ancient city of GHUZNÍ is situated on the route from Kabul to Kandahar, about eighty-seven miles distant from the former. It stands nearly 7000 feet above the sea. Eight centuries ago it was the capital of an empire stretching from the Tigris to the Ganges, and from the Jaxartes to the Persian Gulf. Forty years ago it was reduced by the English to a town of 1500 houses. It stands on an eminence washed by a considerable stream. It used to be surrounded by stone walls and contained many lofty houses on each side, but the streets were narrow and dark. The citadel was an irregular square. Lord Keane took the place by storm in 1839, blowing in the Kabul Gate with gunpowder. The most interesting spot about Ghuzni is the tomb of the renowned Sultan Mahmood, situated in a walled mulberry garden three miles from the city. It has been allowed to fall into ruins, and broken fragments only remain to attest the former beauty of its courts and fountains. The tomb is of polished white marble. The portals of the tomb-house used to be the famous sandal-wood gates carried off by Mahmood in one of his Indian expeditions from the ancient temple of Somnauth in Kattywar. By Lord Ellenborough's orders they were conveyed back to India, and have ever since been lying quietly rotting in the big room of the fort at Agra.

KANDAHAR, about 220 miles south of Ghuzni, was built by Amid Shah in 1754, on the site of an ancient city founded by Alexander the Great, called by him Iskander. It is a fortified city, and on its bastioned mud walls three men can walk abreast; it is also surrounded by a ditch nine feet deep. The city is well watered by canals from the rivers. At the foot of the ruins of the old town of Kandahar is one of the most celebrated reliques of antiquity belonging to the Eastern world. It is the renowned water-pot of Fo or Buddha, which was carried to Kandahar by tribes who fled in the fourth century from Gendhaara on the Indus to escape an invasion of the Yutehi, who came from Chinese Tartary for the express purpose of obtaining the pot. It is considered the holiest relique of the Buddhists, and still retains among the Mohammedans of Kandahar

a sacred and miraculous character. It is called "Kash-guli-Ali," or "Ali's Pot," and is a circular bowl four feet wide and two feet deep in the centre, the sides of it being four feet thick. When struck with the knuckles, the stone, which is a hard, compact black porphyry, gives out a clear metallic ring. It could contain about twenty gallons.

HERAT, the capital of the province of Khorassan, stands on the river Herat, surrounded by lofty walls of baked bricks, erected upon a solid mound formed by the earth thrown up from a wet ditch which encircles the city, being filled up by springs within itself. Conolly describes it as the dirtiest city in the East; but without the walls all is beauty. The space between the hills is covered with little fortified villages, gardens, vineyards, and corn-fields. It has always been the great emporium for the commerce of Persia and India. When the gates of Herat are closed, trade on the Indus, in Bokhara, and in Ispahan will stagnate. That Herat is the gate, in fact the key, to India, will be proved by a glance at its natural position. The two highways, both from the north and north-west, leading to the Southern Helmund and Indus intersect each other here, the road to Kabul being so dangerous that it is rarely taken. Just as the Persian and Central Asiatic merchant trading to India and Afghanistan rests at Herat, and considers it the cross-road for caravans, so an army marching from the banks of the Oxus or from the Caspian Sea must halt here also. This natural route has never yet been avoided, and cannot be. The eastern outlet would take the traveller into the wild Hezerah mountains, the western into the inhospitable districts of Siestan. Herat has been so often besieged and its walls battered down, that the *débris* of the former ones have made a huge mound, on which the present ones are built. It contains about 45,000 inhabitants. Istalif, twenty miles north-west of Kabul, was a large and picturesque town; the houses rose terrace above terrace on the mountain side; through the vale below ran a clear and rapid stream, bordered with orchards and vineyards on both sides. Beyond are the rocky ridges and eternal snows of Hindu Kush. The valley was studded with ancient turreted castles and lovely gardens; for nearly every household had a garden with a tower, to which they repaired in summer, closing their town houses. This beautiful city was stormed and entirely destroyed by fire by the English, in 1842, during the last Afghan war.

The little town of Bamian is situated in a fruitful valley, about a mile in breadth, enclosed by steep rocks, leading from Kabul to Turkestan, at an elevation of 8496 feet. This valley is the only pass yet known over the Hindu Kush practicable for artillery and heavy transport. It was once one of the chief

centres of Buddhist worship, as the gigantic mutilated idols which still remain prove, and a multitude of cells are excavated in the rock all round, rising above one another in irregular tiers, covered with symbolic carving. The curious winding stairs to these cells are still visible. The whole valley is strewn with the ruins of tombs, mosques, and other buildings belonging to the ancient city of Ghulghulh. Eight miles eastward of Bamian is the old fortress of Lahak, which is preserved for the purpose of guarding this important pass.

The people are of various races and languages: the Arab and Afghan, whose language is the Pushta or Pathan; the Tajiks and Kazzilbashes, who speak Persian; also the Hazarahs and other tribes, whose language is a dialect of the Persian. Besides these, there are several small tribes whose origin is very obscure. Next to the Afghans, the most powerful race in the country are the Tajiks: they are supposed to be the ancient Persians, and the original possessors of that part of the country. They are a fine, athletic race, generally of fair complexion, and of settled habits of life. Living chiefly as agriculturists, or in towns or other fixed communities, they pursue various trades and industrial occupations, and are not so turbulent as the Afghans. Many of them adopt a military life, and not a few are found in the ranks of the Punjab force of the British Indian army, and are noted for their quickness and intelligence, combined with excellent horsemanship. But most of this race are occupied as merchants, physicians, scribes, traders, &c. They are chiefly found in the large towns, where they are considered a better educated and superior class of men. The Hazarah race, though speaking a dialect of the Persian language, are, as their features and short stature indicate, of Tartar origin. They are chiefly scattered through the country as domestic or farm servants, but near Ghuzni they possess a few villages and some tracts of land. As servants they are faithful and trustworthy, but in the independence of their own homes and villages they are said to be fierce enemies of the Afghans, and capable of extraordinary bravery and hardihood. The Hindki people are entirely occupied in trade, and form an important part of the population; all the banking business of the country, and the chief trade, is in their hands.

It is, however, the Afghans who are the ruling race of the country which bears their name, and the chief landholders. They differ in appearance, mode of life, customs, and character from the races surrounding them. They are an Aryan people, speaking the Pushti language, and are proud of their descent. They are warmly attached also to their clan and their country. The Afghans are kind to their dependants, but often the reverse to

those who are under their authority without being personally connected with them. Elphinstone tells us, however, that wanton cruelty and violence form no part of the Afghan character. Their customs make revenge a duty; but this is true only of such injuries as affect their honour; in smaller matters they are neither irritable nor implacable. The shepherds of western Afghanistan inhabit a country full of high, bleak downs, interspersed with ranges of low hills, and they preserve a sort of primitive simplicity reminding us of the Scriptural accounts of the patriarchal ages. The women go unveiled, but at sight of a strange man they cover their faces; though in the absence of the men of the family they receive guests with every attention required by hospitality. Indeed, the purity and modesty of the west-country women is recognised by all who are acquainted with their manners. Elphinstone says: "No people in Asia have fewer vices or are less corrupted than the Afghans. This is especially true of the west. In the towns, however, they are acquiring a taste for debauchery, and in the north-east they are far from being pure. Of this even the Afghans themselves complain, saying that in the decline of sincerity and good faith they are growing like to the Persians, whom they regard as the English a few years ago used to do the French. Their vices are envy, avarice, rapacity, and obstinacy. On the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependants, hospitable, brave, hardy, sober, frugal, laborious, and prudent, and far less disposed than the neighbouring nations to falsehood, intrigue, and deceit."

The Afghans are strict Soonnee Mahometans, occupied with their own faith and ceremonies, not interfering with other people. Christians enjoy free toleration, and a Catholic priest of Greek descent, living at Kabul, was mentioned to Elphinstone with general respect.* The language of these followers of Islam is full of reference to the Deity. They never speak of future wants without saying "Inshaulla" (please God). They enter on no undertaking without saying the *Faulchek*—the opening verse of the Koran: "Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most merciful King of the day of judgment. Thee we do worship, from Thee we seek aid. Direct us in the right way, the way of those to whom Thou hast been gracious, not of those with whom Thou art angry, nor of those who go astray." They are regular in their routine devotions; five times a day they repair

* The English Church Missionary Society have at this time a Mission at Kabul, and it was recently stated in London that the Ameer was tolerant, and many of his family friendly, and that the English Missionaries had met with much kindness, though little or no success, among the Afghans.

to the mosques, or, turning towards Mecca, say their prayers in the room or place where they are engaged. Every man is required to give a portion of his income in charity, even the Moollahs, who are the clergy and the teachers and instructors of the people. In places distant from towns hospitality is reckoned as charity, there being no beggars. Dice and gambling are forbidden. There is a schoolmaster in every village and camp, who is maintained by having a piece of land allotted to him and by a small payment from his scholars. The teacher is frequently the priest of the village. In the towns there are regular schools, where the master is maintained by the fees alone. The Moollahs are very numerous, and are of every rank, from that of courtiers and nobles to the lowest class in the poorest and wildest tribes. They are usually called *Ulima*, or learned, and are generally active and able men, attached to the interests of their own body and possessed of the chief learning of the country. The education of youth, the practice of the law, and the administration of justice in those parts of the country which are entirely under the Ameer's government, are entrusted to them; their power over the people is accordingly very great. The Moollahs wear a special dress; they are under no head, nor do they form a corporate body. Except those who hold office under the Ameer, they are entirely independent, and the co-operation among them arises solely from a sense of common aim and common interest. They marry, and live in other respects as laymen. Elphinstone mentions two Moollahs—sons of *Khamee Oollen*, or Lord of the Learned, one of the most learned men of his time—as the best informed and most liberal-minded men he had met either in Afghanistan or in India. He remarks that the Moollahs are useful in moderating the violence of an ungoverned people, in inculcating morality, and in keeping up the little science and literature there is in the country . . . though their religion is only suited to the rude Arabs among whom it was invented. Besides the Moollahs, or regular clergy, there are persons specially revered by the Afghans for their own sanctity or that of their ancestors. Among these are the *Syuds*, or descendants of Mohammed, and various Dervishes, Fakirs, &c. In all ages the Afghans have honoured ascetics, and the graves of these devotees are held sacred. The most lawless tribe, the *Eusofzyes*, place their women in their shrines on the eve of a battle, sure of their safety in case of a defeat. The legends of the country contain traditions of many male and female saints. Some of them, doubtless, were impostors; but Elphinstone says, that "the three most remarkable men of this class whom he met in Peshawur, disavowed all claim to supernatural power; they denounced the vices of the Government and freely reproved the

sins of the people, and their reputation was only maintained by austerity of life. They were free from affectation, and only distinguished from other people by the gentleness of their manners."

The condition of the women varies with their rank. Those of the upper classes are entirely secluded from view, but they are allowed all the comforts and pleasures which their situation permits. In the poorer families the women go to the well for water and do the household work. Among the ruder tribes they share the out-door work of the men; but in no part of Afghanistan are they employed, like in India, as hired labourers. The women of the upper classes are taught to read, and some of them manifest talent for literature. Elphinstone states that he knew several families principally guided by women of more than ordinary talent, who never hesitated to correspond on any business which concerned their sons. He adds that the sentiment of love as understood by Europeans is prevalent in Afghanistan, though not a trace of this passion is to be found among the neighbouring nations. It is not uncommon for a man to pledge his faith to a particular girl, and then set off to a remote town, even to India, to acquire the wealth which is necessary to obtain her from her parents. The children are sent to a Moollah for education. The rich keep a Moollah in the house as tutor, allowing him all the authority of a schoolmaster. The prime minister's son told Elphinstone that he was kept to his book almost the whole day.

The Afghans are skilled in various athletic sports, and the extent to which gymnastic exercises can improve the frame is visible in the large chests, fine limbs, and swelling muscles of their athletes. Their games bear a strong resemblance to those of ancient Greece.

The practice of hospitality is a point of national honour; so that of an inhospitable man they would say, he has Poosh-toonwullee (nothing of the custom of the Afghans). A penniless man travelling through the whole country would never want a meal, except in the towns. A person desiring to ask a favour goes to the house or tent, and refuses to sit on the carpet till his boon be granted, and the honour of the host incurs a stain if he does not grant the petition. A still stronger appeal is made when a woman sends her veil to an Afghan, and implores his aid for herself or her family. An Afghan's bitterest enemy is safe under his roof, but the protection does not extend beyond the tribe, and a traveller may be entertained, dismissed with presents, and yet be afterwards robbed by the very parties who had entertained him; and so much more attention do they give to granting favours than to respecting rights, that the same Afghans who

would rob the well-clothed traveller of his cloak would give him one if he had none.

Their love of independence appears in most of their transactions. Their highest praise of a government is, that "Every man eats the produce of his own field, and nobody interferes with his neighbour." Throughout all the tribes the claims and attachments of the Afghans, unlike that of the Highlander, is rather to the community than to the chief. The Ameer himself is not a monarch, as we understand the word, but rather a dictator for life, governing a military aristocracy and many small democracies. The bitter animosities and jealousies between the sons of the same father are the natural result of the polygamy indulged in by the ruling race: the favoured wife intrigues for her son, and the succession depends on the will or caprice of the father.

Sir Alexander Burnes and Mountstuart Elphinstone unite in their testimony to the frank and manly bearing of the Afghans, and their possession of the ease of manner common to Asiatics, and say that though sometimes bashful they are free from puerility in their conversation, and their inquiries are always rational. Communication with them is rendered agreeable by the dependence which can be placed on what they say; for though they do not scruple to deceive when to do so promotes their own interest, they have not the indifference to truth and habit of purposeless falsehood so common in Persia and India. Unless there is some motive for misrepresentation one may rely on the Afghans for correctness and truthfulness. Some later writers, it is true, are far from corroborating this testimony to their virtues. But we have to remember that both Burnes and Elphinstone visited Kabul itself, and speak most emphatically of the superior moral calibre of the people of Western Afghanistan. Mountstuart Elphinstone especially touches character with a delicate and friendly hand, lightened by wide sympathies. And we may here quote, in illustration, the words of one of those great statesmen and soldiers whom our Indian Empire develops, Sir Herbert Edwardes:—

I desire (he says) above all things to put into the hands of the young soldier the staff of confidence in his fellow-man. If there is any lesson that I have learnt from life, it is that human nature, black or white, is better than we think it, and he who reads the "Year in the Punjab" will see how much faith I have had occasion to place in the rudest and wildest of their species, how nobly it was deserved, and how useless I should have been without it.

It will be remembered that the valley of Bannú, the abode of the Wazeres, the most lawless of the Afghans, who had oppressed the native Bannuchis and defied the Sikh arms for twenty-five years, was, in three months, peacefully annexed to the Punjab by

Sir Herbert Edwardes. The two tribes, the Wazeres and Bannuchis, both Afghan people, were subjected without a single shot being fired, and no part of the Punjaub is now more free from crime than Bannú, which lies on the west bank of the Indus, and stretches to the foot of the Salt Hills and Suliman range.

Speaking of the Afghan or Pathan peasantry of this district, Mr. Thorburn writes :—

Three years' study has opened my eyes and dispersed many prejudices. Instead of proving themselves the lazy, ignorant beings I had once thought them, the majority of the agriculturists of the Afghan tribes have proved, on better acquaintance, to be a shrewd, hard-working and intelligent class, who thoroughly understand how to make use of their slender means in extracting full measure from this soil. These lands are held by tribes according to a system called Vesh, common among the Afghans, which resembles that recorded in the last chapters of the Book of Numbers, and these tenures give rise to many boundary disputes and long-continued clan feuds.

But the era of misrule in which might was right has passed away. Well might Sir H. Edwardes say :

There are few greater pleasures in the life of a civil or military officer than the settlement of a boundary feud. It takes a load of anxiety off the heart of every living being on both sides : the old men watching over the common weal, the youths whose swords are its supports, the mothers who wondered if their sons would escape again, the maiden and the wife, who wept already to think how they would weep. Each and all look up with such grateful eyes at the benefactor, who, clad in the mysterious armour of the great Government he serves, walks singly and unarmed along the boundary, followed now by the plough, and soon by golden harvests ;—that dull indeed, and wanting in humanity, must he be if he can behold the scene and not feel "How blessed are the peacemakers."

Before these pages see the light it will have been decided whether England is once more to try to storm the highland stronghold of the Afghans, and whether the British army is again to attempt those terrible passes whose very names have at various times carried terror and sorrow to thousands in England and in India. It will be interesting, therefore, to conclude this paper with an attempt at a description of the probable routes by which an invading force would enter Afghanistan, and the probable difficulties such a force would encounter. Prophetic speculation is generally idle ; still, in order to understand a possible Afghan campaign, definite points must be described and some conjecture must be indulged in. Let us suppose that Lord Lytton and his military chiefs should decide that the first move should be a threefold advance in Kandahar, the Kurrum fort, and Ali Musjid,

respectively. The occupation of these three points would be good and sufficient work before winter. Why the British troops should advance and halt at Kandahar, Kurrum, and Ali Musjid a very cursory glance at a map will show at once. The heart of Afghanistan is the city of Kabul; but Kabul could not be safely and prudently attempted before the spring. Kandahar is on a direct road to Kabul to an army coming up from the south (from Quetta); Ali Musjid is the key of the Khyber Pass, which is one direct route to Kabul from Peshawur; and the Kurrum is a way almost as direct. If each of these strong places be held before winter by a British division, the Ameer will have three formidable foes, posted within his very gates, ready, as soon as the first breath of spring shall melt the snows of the loftier passes, to converge upon his devoted capital. Meanwhile, by the very occupation itself, the great roads of the interior will be commanded, communications will be interrupted, and South-Eastern Afghanistan almost conquered; whilst the occupying troops will spend the winter in strengthening their position, establishing a strong basis of operations, completing roads and railways, and so preparing for a decisive blow.

The advance on Kandahar, although it will cover more ground than either of the other movements, ought not to present any considerable difficulty to our troops. At Quetta we are inside and in the rear of the Suliman mountains, which are such a formidable barrier to an advance from the Punjab. The distance from Quetta to Kandahar is 150 miles. The road, like all other roads in Afghanistan, is only a natural track, worn somewhat smoother by the camels and the caravans which have traversed it since the days of Alexander the Great. It passes over considerable mountains; it goes through dry lands and barren lands; but considering the lavish expenditure of modern war ministers on their commissariat and transport services the army ought to suffer neither hunger nor thirst. Thousands of camels will carry stores, ammunition, tents, and even mountain guns. Cavalry, well accustomed to the system of "requisitioning," will scour the land in every direction for forage. Few enemies will oppose the march; and perhaps by Christmas-Day the British flag will be flying from the mud walls of Kandahar, and enterprising correspondents will be sending home to the illustrated papers graphic sketches of Buddha's "Pot."

The occupation of Ali Musjid will be a more anxious task. This formidable fortress has been a good deal described during the last few weeks, and it will be enough to recall the principal features of its situation and of its strength, so as to obtain a clear idea of what the troops will have to do. Ali Musjid is a big, flat-topped rock which blocks the Khyber Pass, about twelve

miles from Jumrood and twenty-five from Peshawur. The Khyber is the principal of those gorges or ravines cut by the Kabul river, or its tributaries, as they find their way through the great frontier-range to the plains of the Indus. The cultivated land ceases, on our side, at Takal, ten miles from Peshawur, and a barren stony plain stretches from thence to the hills. But the actual entrance to the defile is near the limestone caves of Kadhan at the small village and fort of Jumrood. There is a footpath leading over low rounded hills covered with snow. The high road for artillery passes through the defile, runs up the water-course to its origin in a rock on the south side of the defile, from where the water gushes clear, sparkling, and refreshing, but charged with antimony, for it springs from a rock of sulphate of antimony. Within half a mile from Kadhan the gorge narrows to 150 yards, with steep, dark, slaty rocks on each side. From this to the frontier fort of Ali Musjid, the pass, which varies from 290 to 40 feet in width, is enclosed between precipitous inaccessible cliffs of schistose rock 1500 feet in height, so steep as to seem vertical. Within the gorge an isolated peaked rock, 600 feet high, rises about ten miles from the entrance. On this tall, beetling crag a "Musjid" has been built on a spot hallowed by the lifelong prayers of a Mahomedan devotee named Hazrid Ali; hence the name of Ali Musjid. An old fort, 650 yards long by 420 wide, at the top of this conical peak was dismantled by the English in the year 1842. It consisted of two castles connected by a wall, enclosing a space of 100 yards by 70. It was commanded, however, by higher rocks on each side, which modern fire-arms bring within range; but under no circumstances could it become a permanent fortress for British troops, for the only water to be had is from a well highly impregnated with antimony. In 1839, 243 men died from this cause. From Ali Musjid the pass narrows into six paces in some parts, and is merely the bed of a mountain-torrent, bounded by black precipices on each side, rising at an angle of seventy or eighty degrees. Here, as Lieutenant Wood relates, a single shower of rain endangered his property, which, but for the friendly help of the Khyberees, would have been all swept away. His party had to seek safety by clambering up the rocks on opposite sides, and to wait the subsidence of the stream. At times the torrent becomes so violent as to sweep away all before it; at others the stream is but a tiny rivulet, occasionally disappearing in the gravel. The air of this gorge, which extends for two and a half miles, is highly deleterious; but the mortality of our troops here was attributed to the water, which is all more or less impregnated with antimony. Dark, gloomy, precipitous, and mournful, this ravine is a mere crack or fissure crossing the

range of hills. The defile opens out into a small, highly cultivated hill-encircled plain about twelve miles in circumference, across which the stream meanders. In this elevated valley are twenty-four lofty towers attached to residences, and the village of Lala-Beg, which thus stands midway between Jumrood and Dhakka. On a high black rock which juts out into the road stands a dilapidated *dhayope*, or Buddhist monument, preserving the remains of some devotee or enshrining a relic. The square base is set to the cardinal points, and it rises step above step in a pyramidal form, terminating in a terrace surmounted by a cylindrical building with solid dome. It is built of massive stones, and is one of the largest known *topes*. The neighbourhood abounds in remains of an ancient city, and the sculptures occasionally found are of a European type.

Three miles from Lala-Beg there is a valley of considerable extent within the Khyber mountains, well supplied with good water, springs, and wells; the soil is excellently cultivated, the air pure and salubrious—an eligible spot for an encampment. After leaving the plains of Lala-Beg the route proceeds through a narrow pass called Lundi Khan, where for two miles the road runs along the face of a precipice like the ledges of the Simplon, being little more than a shelf hewn out of the cliff during the lapse of ages by the same force which cleft the mountains in twain and chiselled the crags. The stream, appearing as a thread of water foaming in the depths below, jammed in between steep rocks, is sometimes nearly lost. This road is narrow, rugged, and steep, the paths ascending circuitously, like the stairs of a Gothic tower. Guns could here only be drawn by men, and camels must pass in single file; so that, reckoning nine feet to a camel in motion and three feet interval, 10,000 camels would stretch for twenty-two miles; and then there would be the bullocks, guns, &c. The highest point of the pass is the rock of Aornus, 3373 feet high. It is sombre in colour and intense in gloom, the path descending among rugged stones, through which the water flows like a stream of silver. The steep precipices rise on the south in unbroken grandeur, darkening the face of the heavens. Skirting these, the route continues, passing the ruins of Alexander's fort on an eminence, in the valley called Haft-Chaki, or "seven wells." Most of the wells are dry, and there is but little water in any. This is a dangerous spot in the season of hot winds, which rage here with fatal fury, destroying even the camels. The mountains now gradually slope away to the west from Haft-Chaki, and the defile opens till it ends at Dhakka, a small fort or village dependent on Jellalabad. Amongst these hills are a number of artificial caverns and the remains of forts. From Dhakka, along the fertile banks of the

river to Umba Khana, where a branch road leads to Jellalabad, the route holds due west over broken stony ground skirting the Sufed Koh. The defiles between Dhakka and Hazaren are called Khoord Khyber, or Little Khyber.

Lieutenant Wood remarks that the secluded valleys opening in the Khyber hills are all highly cultivated—orchard, field, and garden blending together; they abound in mulberry, pomegranate, and other fruit trees, and the banks of their small streams are edged with finest sward, enamelled with flowers and fragrant with aromatic herbs. These delightful spots seem out of harmony with the known characters of the men who may be expected to harass, or to assist, the passage of a British army.

Ali Musjid, formidable as it looks, was taken by Pollock in 1842. The conditions of the defence and attack will have probably changed since then. If Russian engineers have taken charge of the Ameer's defences, not only will Ali Musjid be now a real *fortress*, but the two eminences which command it from a slight distance will be strongly fortified also. But the difficulties of the occupation of this important point will begin the moment the British force reaches Jumrood. Mountain warfare is the same everywhere. If the hill-tribes line the heights and fire from every rock, then our troops will have their work cut out. General Pollock, warned by the disasters of Elphinstone and Wild, did not advance one step up the centre of the pass without driving the Khyberees and Afredees from the parallel sides as he went on. Our soldiers had to climb and to spring from rock to rock, and to hunt from every thicket and crevice warriors who knew every nook, and were as active as mountain cats. An advance made under such circumstances, and with the gloom of a terrible defeat and massacre darkening the air, and yet successfully accomplished, is one of those feats which stamp a commander as a hero. Yet it was not in the Khyber that Elphinstone and Wild suffered. The annihilation of General Elphinstone's army, on its march from Kabul, took place in the Khoord Kabul Pass, one hundred miles from the Khyber. It will be remembered that our armies had driven Dost Mahomed from the throne, and put Shah Shuja in his place, occupying, at the same time, Kandahar, Kabul, Jellalabad, and other towns and fortresses. But in the winter of 1841 the whole of Eastern Afghanistan rose on the British occupation, and there began a series of massacres, defeats, and misfortunes which make the name of an Afghan pass a name of horror at this very day. The force which occupied Kabul had to sign a convention and withdraw. In the middle of a terrible winter Elphinstone began his retreat to Jellalabad. He had 4500 men and 12,000 or 13,000 camp-followers. Nearly every man of them was killed or starved in the Khoord Kabul.

As for Wild, his ill-planned attempts to get at Moseley and Mackeson, then shut up in Ali Musjid, were disastrously defeated before he really entered the Khyber Pass. Marching from Peshawur, he encamped at Jumrood for the night. No sooner were the troops under arms next morning than the mountaineers found them out with the long range guns, which gave them as much advantage over our troops in those days of "Brown Bess" as we may hope the latter will have over their enemies with the Snider and the Martini-Henry. The British could not advance, and their retreat was a defeat.

From Gundunuk, after many ascents and descents, and passing over strong ground, the route descends so steeply that Major Havelock says it caused the death of many of his camels; and, crossing the Sinka Rud, or Red River, continues over a succession of ravines, and through a defile where the ridges of blue slate rise like walls on each side, till the village of Jugdullack is reached. It is situated on the side of a hill, and is so called from the *jigde* plant, which grows abundantly here. At this place the route enters the mountains by a narrow defile four miles long, winding nearly at right angles; it is only forty or fifty yards wide, and in some places not three, in one part not two. The cliffs of granite and sandstone are often almost perpendicular, scarcely leaving room for the passage of the stream which runs through the gorge, and which is at certain seasons so swollen as to impede the passage. The ascent is very steep and difficult, the pass at Jugdullack being 5375 feet high, which is nearly one thousand feet higher than the summit of Ben-Nevis. The descent towards the west over the rocky bed is extremely difficult. From Jugdullack the water flows through the gorge of Paree Duree—the fairy valley—a narrow stony descent resembling in character the pass called "The Valley of Hell," between Neustadt and Friburg.

The next pass Havelock calls "the terrific defile of Tezeen," a valley of stones with deleterious water, where many of the camels died of diarrhœa. The country here becomes entirely barren, and the ascent steep. This valley is about the height of the Simplon Pass, above 6000 feet, the top of the Pass of Tezeen being 8173 feet high—higher than that of the pass of the Great St. Bernard. These barren valleys, shut out from sunlight by the mountains to the south, are full of intense gloom, impressing the mind with a sense of indescribable horror and pain.

The route then skirts the Karakatchi mountains. This pass is 8000 feet above the level of the sea, and proceeds over table-land and up the abrupt ascent to Haft Kotl, or the "seven passes," and through successive ranges of hills and steep declivities, and reaches the village of Khoord Kabul (or little Kabul), situated

7466 feet above the sea, being higher than the Gemmi Pass. One of these is called the Dark Pass, and though not more than 200 feet long fully justifies its ominous name. The route enters the last defile between very high mountains, through which, Sir Vincent Eyre says, the wind is piercingly cold, even in the month of June; while Havelock, early in October, describes it as freezing the water on the horses' legs, and encasing boots and garments in layers of ice. The stream which runs through the Khoord Kabul has to be crossed twenty-eight times in five miles. The mountains on each side are of basalt and schist, precipitous and wild, in character of a black or dull purple hue. These ravines are surmounted by immeasurable slopes of barrenness, where the winds howl, appalling in storm, and mournful even in sunshine. Of sunshine, according to Sir V. Eyre, "in the winter there is but a momentary ray between the precipitous sides of this formidable defile," and not a vestige of vegetation is to be seen. This terrible pass expands into the beautiful plain of Kabul. Beyond the brows of the scarped cliffs all is changed in a few steps, the scene opening out on an arable country of the utmost richness, where corn-fields, orchards, and gardens stretch to the very foot of the Hindu Kush, which raises its snow-capped heads into the clouds. The spring and summer of Kabul are considered delightful, though, as the city is situated on a plain as high as the pass of Mont Cenis, the winters are intensely severe.

The Peschin valley lies to the north of Quetta, and nearly sixty miles from Khelat. The river Kushlak Sora divides the dominions of the Ameer of Kabul from those of the Khan of Khelat.

Two miles from Kushlak the route to Kandahar enters the Sarmaghze range, over which is the pass descending to the plain of Peschin, a great, open, undulating plateau about 6000 feet high. The soil is stiff red clay, abounding in salts and much furrowed by water. It is chiefly pasture land, destitute of trees, culture, and villages; the inhabitants dwell in nomad tents, and during the winter months it is entirely covered with snow.

The pass to Kandahar is through the Khojak hills; it is 7400 feet high, the same height as St. Bernard, while Kandahar is not higher than the top of Snowdon, and consequently is much warmer than Peschin, which is as high as the Simplon. The bare plains of Peschin have a most rigorous winter, the icicles forming pendants on the manes of the camels. The Afghans wear thick felt casings within their great boots to preserve their feet from being frostbitten. The chief difficulty of the route over the Khojak hills, is the want of water, or the deep snow.

The valley of Kurrum, which follows the course of the river Kurrum, is separated from the plain of Jellalabad by the mountains of Sofed Koh, which form a massive lofty wall to the north of the Kurrum plain. It lies at the base of the hills, whose tips are covered with snow, and is extremely fertile, and presents one mass of corn-fields, gardens, and orchards, studded with walled villages and fortified houses. The mulberry is abundant, and silk-worms are successfully raised; but the valley is singularly unhealthy. Dr. Bellew tells us that ague, rheumatism, consumption, ophthalmia, diarrhœa, and dropsy prevail to a fearful extent, and that the four mules' loads of medicines with which the Indian Government had provided him afforded by far the most acceptable presents the inhabitants could receive. He thought the water deleterious, but had not analysed it. The valley between Kurrum Fort and the Peiwar Pass to the west is twenty miles wide; at Rokim the route to Kabul enters the narrow defile called Dana-i-Hazardarakht—"The thousand trees"—and continues its tortuous course through sixteen miles of ascent. The defile is from 100 to 200 yards in width. Katta Sang is a fortress built on a projecting eminence; beyond it there is a very steep ascent to the table-land of Hazrah, which is 9382 feet high, and the hills rise another 1000 feet. The next ascent is called Shuter-gardan, or "camel neck," a name given to any ascent which is long, easy, and gradual; Kotal—"sharp hill"—is applied to a steep ascent. The view of the distant Hindu Kush mountains to the north, and far away to the west the Hazareth mountains, at whose base lies the fertile valley of Sojar, and of confused masses of nearer mountain peaks with bare craggy surfaces which lie to the south and east, is very grand; while immediately below Hazrah Shuter-gardan, at a depth of 1400 or 1500 feet, lies a narrow tortuous gorge, through which the route can be traced; this highest pass is 13,500 feet. The descent is by a difficult zigzag path on the steep side of the hill, winding about among overhanging rocks, till a natural rocky doorway is reached, formed by the close approximation of opposite sides of the defile. This cleft separating the mountain gorges is only six or seven yards in width, and about thirty long; perpendicular rocks rise on each side to the height of fifty or sixty feet, sloping off into the hills on each side. Through this natural gateway, which is as regular as though artificially excavated through the solid rock, flows the same sparkling stream which runs through the gorge above, and which now enters a larger, wilder, and grander gorge. In the transparent stream sparkling pebbles of porphyry, syenite, and hornblende are visible. The route ascends the steep hill of Shungai Kohat by a stony road, studded with great blocks of porphyry and green and yellow syenite, which shine like glass,

while the ground is strewn with pulverised mica sparkling in the sunshine. This stony plateau slopes away by successive steppes to the Sojar valley, and the plain is entered a few miles from the village of Khusha, where houses, fields, and orchards occupy part of the ravine, which is three-quarters of a mile wide, with a small stream in the centre enclosed between low wooded banks. Khusha means "joy." Truly the weary traveller finds it a haven of delight after traversing the bleak and barren regions of Hazrah and Hazardarakht for a distance of fifty miles (from Peiwar to the vale of Sojar). This valley stretches to Kabul.

ART. VI.—THE PARIS EXHIBITION OF 1878.

THE French Exhibition just closed was a brilliant success, and showed the world the wonderful recuperative powers of France. In less than seven years she has emerged from her trouble, erased every trace of her foe, paid her enormous indemnity, and showed an energy that has raised her to her old place in the civilisation of Europe. In every branch of science and manufacture she has come well to the front, if she does not hold, as she unquestionably does in art, the first place amongst nations. Ignored by Germany and impeded at home by the opposition press, the Exhibition relied upon the appeal to their subjects of the two Governments of France and England; and well, on the whole, was that appeal responded to. The active part taken by the Prince of Wales, both as an exhibitor and as the British Commission President, greatly tended to insure its success. It was perhaps due to the untiring energy of his Royal Highness more than to any other that we were so well prepared at the opening in May, and that we showed for once that Ethelred's title of the "unready" did not apply to us. The late Exhibition was the most complete and most varied of all yet held. It embraced every period of art, of manufacture, and of science. You might begin with the implements of the Stone Age, and end with Whitworth's fluid-compressed steel torpedo cases. You traced Art from the earliest Egyptian to the most perfect efforts of Greece; you followed the Byzantine school from its rise to its fall; you passed in review the whole history of the Middle Age, and you ended, if you chose, with the very freshest production of the studio or the *atelier*. The whole world was round about you; the kingdoms of Europe, the immemorial and mysterious East, silent China, progressive Japan, America with her very newest state

or territory, Australia with the youngest stripling among her colonies, and at last, in the Ethnological and Anthropological Sections, you might have studied the skulls of all peoples, tribes, and tongues, and heard a voiceless sermon—*Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas!*

From the first World's Fair, in 1851, too great a result was expected. A new era, it was hoped, would dawn upon the earth. The temple of Janus was to be shut for ever. The leading men—so said the press of that period—in manufactures, in commerce, and science, were to be brought into close and intimate communication with each other. Annual reports were to be made in all departments, every invention was to be tested, each improvement noted, and the whole world was to be invited to carry on intelligently, with one accord, the vast scheme of human labour which had hitherto been prosecuted without system or plan. We know how these great expectations vanished. When we look back over the last twenty-seven years of the world's progress, we soon discover which of the arts, and which of the sciences, has made the greatest advance. It is unquestionably the art of destruction—the science of projectiles. Minié-bullets, Enfields, Sniders, Martini-Henrys, *mitrailleuses*, Gatling guns, revolving-turrets, rifled-cannon, and torpedos—these have marked the years as they passed. The names which are household words are Krupp and Armstrong, Whitworth and Whitehead. We in England have at least kept pace with the rest of the world in the arts of destruction.

Prior to 1851 we had distanced all nations in cheapness of production in most of the world's wants. Birmingham, Sheffield, the Potteries, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the West of England, more than held their own against all competitors, in iron and steel, in earthenware, and in cotton and woollen fabrics. Our weakest point in the first Exhibition was in the arts of design, as applied to all manufactures. Even then, however, a great advance had been made from the time when Sir Robert Peel asked R. B. Haydon: "Do you think, Mr. Haydon, our people will ever have any taste." The answer was, "How should they, if no means are taken to educate them?" Some time afterwards, in 1834, Mr. Ewart obtained the appointment of a committee which pursued its labours for two sessions, when the following points were established: that from the highest branches of design, to the lowest matters which regarded the connexion between design and manufacture, the arts had received no encouragement; that the grossest ignorance of even the most elementary art was manifest among all our skilled workmen, in fancy trades, in silk, in ribbons, in pottery, in patterns for the loom or the printworks; that the workmen of

other countries, but notably of France, enjoyed very great advantages over our own, for there the artist was more of the workman and the workman more of the artist; that French patterns were always and in every species of manufacture preferred to our own. This report was laid before Parliament in 1836, and in 1837 the first Government School of Design was opened at Somerset House; it was soon followed by those of Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, the Potteries, Coventry, Spitalfields, Nottingham, Paisley, Glasgow, Dublin, and Belfast. After about three years' trial, the then president of the Board of Trade, Mr. Milner Gibson, presented a report which showed most satisfactory results.

Even then, however, a man of influence and taste (one of the principal Art teachers at Somerset House) could say there were "not five men in the country competent to teach ornamental art; that very few of our trained artisans knew what decorative art was, and that still fewer had any definite idea of the way to set about improving it."

Decorative art (said the Professor) has a double end to answer; it has to serve some purpose of man's physical life and at the same time to convey an impression of beauty; unfitness for its end soon vitiates the pleasure derived from its beauty. The difference between the artist in fine art and the ornamental artist is, that one has for his aim the representation of beauty as it appears in its natural subjects, the other the application of beauty to a new subject. But it was not only necessary to educate the artist to produce, it was equally necessary to educate the people to demand.

This the first Great Exhibition of 1851 to a large extent effected amongst our people, partly by bringing us face to face with our competitors on the Continent. Let any one compare our work as shown in the illustrated catalogue of the Exhibition in 1851 in the *Art Journal* with our designs for similar objects in 1862, and our progress is shown to be most satisfactory. Carry the same comparison to 1873, at Vienna, and to the present Exhibition, and still the same advance is noted.

The use of these great exhibitions of nations, like exhibitions at schools, is to mark the progress made in each subject under examination as compared with previous efforts in the same classes.

Under one of four heads nearly all subjects under examination at the Paris Exhibition may be classed,—Education, including the arts of design as applied to manufactures, Fine Art Manufactures, and Machinery. Before noting any one subject, a rapid run through the whole Exhibition will be as interesting to the reader as it was necessary to the visitor.

At the opening in May, the first glance from the steps of the

Trocadéro Palace was eminently discouraging. To add to the discomfort the weather was unpropitious, and there was scaffolding before, behind, on the right, and the left; as far as the eye could reach black patches of grass-sown earth, unspread gravel, mud, confusion, discomfort everywhere, except on the boarded roadway on the bridge of Jena over the Seine, which divided the Exhibition grounds into two parts. Beyond the bridge the same confusion up to the great vestibule of the building of the Champ de Mars. Within, a confusion of unpacked cases. Without, on either side of the large flights of steps, were beds without a shrub or plant, just showing the first faint sickly green of early growth marked "Carter's grass seed." Thousands of navvies, gardeners, and masons, were working away, hindered by and obstructing the visitors. Fourteen thousand seven hundred men, aided by the electric light, worked all the night previous to the opening.

It was not till the end of June that all was in order. Then, thousands of flowering shrubs, and plants in full bloom, and bright green grass, formed a setting of beauty to quaint buildings of every style of construction and material. The most remarkable of all those in the Trocadéro Park was the Chinese establishment. It had been brought, piece by piece, direct from the Celestial Empire, and set up by celestial hands with the simplest of tools. Most of the work was done with a small axe and hammer combined, and a fine saw, like jagged thin wire, which seemed to travel with the greatest ease and accuracy along the traced-out form. At fixed hours their food was brought to them in large covered dishes from their own cuisine. A perfect system pervaded all their work, and when at last all was finished, they made a most brilliant show. The beauty of much that was exhibited, the novelty of all, and the assiduous attention of "John Chinaman," in his peculiar dress, with his neatly plaited glossy hair, made this section always a great attraction. Near to the Chinese was the Japanese Farm, which was also much frequented. The whole was fenced in with native fencing, having gate-posts of native wood, most beautifully ornamented with sharp bold carvings of fruit and flowers, not inserted, but cut on the solid wood, with a freedom of execution and a beauty of design that seemed worthy of a better object. The Japanese have all discarded their native dress and adopted European. The fluency with which they speak both English and French, not only shows their gift of language, but bears testimony to the efficiency of their schools. One young lad of about ten years, whose half-closed yet brilliant eyes set wide apart proclaimed his origin, had never been in England, and had come straight from Japan. He spoke

English with astonishing correctness of grammar and purity of accent. He said he had learnt it at "their university."

With the exception of the Chinese costumes, and a few examples of Moorish, there was not much that was uncommon in dress. Our own countrymen may have amazed the strangers, as they did even the French papers and their own *Times*, by the outrageousness of their "tweed" suits and crushed hats; but whatever indication of manners or culture was afforded by the rough tweed and the "billicock," these were doubtless, from an artistic point of view, more acceptable than the demure frockcoat and tall hat of ordinary London respectability. In the Tunisian and Moorish cafés there were some strangely dressed turbaned figures; but few of them seemed of the real Oriental type. They sat there, however, all day on a raised dais, chanting their discordant "patter," to a monotonous instrumental accompaniment.

In the Hungarian refreshment annexe there were some gipsy musicians, whose performance was really interesting; in the Bodega, in the Trocadéro Park, was a well-conducted though small orchestra. But throughout the Exhibition ground there was always a great lack of music. Half an hour's rest on the Champ de Mars, or in front of the Trocadéro Palace, within hearing of the inspiring strains of a French military band, would have revived many a jaded sightseer and nerved him for further exertions. The area of the Exhibition was so great, the subjects so various and so widely extended, that however long the time one gave to it, there was always more to see. Still, by taking the different entrances each day in turn, little of importance was missed, either of the past industries at the Trocadéro or of the present at the Champ de Mars.

The galleries of the Trocadéro were simply museums of ancient and mediæval art. To enumerate everything, or one tithe of everything, would be to write a catalogue. Egypt, Greece, and ancient Rome, contributed choice and priceless treasures—cameos, rings, and coins; a magnificent Head, in marble, ascribed to Phidias; the head of a Satyr, in terra cotta, most wonderfully modelled, each hair of the head and beard as sharply defined as if cut in marble, and the whole as deep in colour as an Etruscan vase. There were a number of cases of small exquisite figures, recently dug up at Tanagra, in Bœotia, about thirty miles from Athens. All these small figures, many only three inches high, had been most delicately coloured. Pale pink, and green, and blue were the principal colours of the draperies; but the pose of the figures and the expression in work so minute showed the highest excellence of art. Amongst these—"there is nothing new under the sun"—was a child's

jointed doll, no doubt once the treasure of some little heart which has ceased to beat more than two dozen centuries ago. There were also embroideries; vestments and capes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; ivory carvings; illuminated manuscripts; many magnificent copies of the Koran, with Spanish and Moorish arms and armour. The ceramics included majolica from Italy and France, and Limoges and Palissy ware, exhibited in admirably contrived cases, where all could be seen under the best possible conditions. Weeks might have been spent in these galleries with profit and pleasure.

The exhibition that was to show the world's progress since 1867 was on the other side of the Seine, in the Champ de Mars. The whole space was bounded by the two vestibules, and the two machine courts, which formed the four sides of the Exhibition buildings; the former being about 1500, the latter 2000 feet long. Within this area, and at right angles to the vestibules, ran all the courts or sections. The Foreign Machinery was on the right, the French on the left, of the entrance. In the centre were the Fine Art courts, running the entire length from vestibule to vestibule. The whole of the space to the left of the Fine Art courts was devoted to France; that on the right contained the "Avenue of the Nations," rendered familiar to all by the numerous engravings in the illustrated papers. But engravings could scarcely give any idea of the care and cost that had been given to the constructions. Of the fine specimens of English houses, a woodcut gave, perhaps, a sufficiently adequate notion; but the façades of Spain, Japan, China, Austro-Hungary, and Belgium, required the aid of colour, as well as form, to make their fine effect intelligible. Each of these several "houses" was the entrance or opening to the court or section of the nation represented; these courts running at right angles to the Avenue, and extending to the Foreign Machinery Gallery. Thus you passed through the gates of the Japanese erection, and found yourself in a Japanese store; and similarly with all the others. The great vestibule in front of the Champ de Mars was the most striking part of the building. On the right were the equestrian statue of the Prince of Wales and the Indian presents lent for exhibition; on the left of the entrance was the resplendent display of the jewels of the French Republic. Foremost among these was "the diamond of the Regent of Orleans," the purest water, though not the largest, diamond in the world. There is a curious fascination attached to jewels. They seem always to command a much greater attention from the general public than the finest works of art. In 1873, at Vienna, no matter how small the numbers attending the exhibition, the kiosk containing the Turkish jewels was always crowded. So

here, in Paris, there was always a crowd crushing to get near this grand display of gems. In front of this case, facing the grand entrance, was the Fine Art Court, which the official catalogue calls *Groupe Premier*. There were nine of these *groupes* or divisions: 1. Fine Art; 2. Educational Teaching; 3. Furniture; 4. Spun and Woven Fabrics; 5. Minerals, Metals, crude and manufactured; 6. Tools and Machinery; 7. Cereals and their products; 8. Agriculture; and 9. Horticulture. These *groupes* were again subdivided into classes. Under one or other of these classes, in their respective divisions, every branch of industry, every species of raw material, "all the world's wants," were enumerated. To begin with the first division—Fine Art.

Until 1867 scarcely anything was known in France of English Art. Even now there is not a single work of Reynolds or Gainsborough or Hogarth, in any public gallery. Isolated as we are by prejudice, by position, and by religion, these world's gatherings are of great service to our Fine Art; and we know also that French artists readily admit the great influence our school has exercised over French Art. As regards ourselves, on the other hand, the great advance we have made can be as surely traced to France. Now, for many years, we have had an exhibition of French pictures in London, and many of their best masters are well known in England. It was the privilege of the writer to be accompanied through all the Fine Art section by an eminent French artist, an exhibitor, and one who had taken high honours in the profession. By him, as by all, it was admitted that there are but two schools in painting, the French and the English. As regards number of works, we were but poorly represented in comparison with France. Some great names were conspicuous by their absence—Linnell, sen., Long, Peter Graham, Hook, Holman Hunt, and others; and of some who exhibited, better specimens might have been selected. There was certainly an attraction in the English Court; it was always crowded. The quiet influence of home, of every-day life, was particularly felt in this section, and more and more strongly after each visit to the French and Foreign galleries. It was like the change from some formal state party to a quiet reunion amongst friends. Much of this, no doubt, was due to association, and to the recognition of old familiar favourites; but it was admitted, even by the French, upon whom such works as Leslie's "Pot Pourri" and "School Revisited," and Sant's "Early Post," seemed to have a marked effect. Of the ten works of Millais, the most admired were "A Yeoman of the Guard," "Chill October," and "The Gambler's Wife." Herkomer's great work, "The Last Muster" (the Chelsea pensioners), was amongst

the best of our pictures. Herkomer and Millais only, of all our living artists, gained the *médaille d'honneur*, the highest distinction conferred. France gained five, Austro-Hungary three, Belgium, Italy, Russia, and Spain, each one. Amongst the deceased artists, Landseer, Lewis, Phillip, Mason, and Walker, are also placed in the highest rank. Next to the *médailles d'honneur* come the medals of the first class. Tadema and Watts are in this list, and Calderon and the late Sir Francis Grant. A second class medal is awarded to Oules. In the third class are Sir John Gilbert, Orchardson, and Rivière. Honourable mention is made of Leslie, Pettie, and Green. Some of the awards, and several of the omissions, have astonished the English art world. Was there nothing for the artists in water-colours? Yet Burne Jones, Carl Haag, Alfred Hunt, Birket Foster, Fripp, Gregory, Goodall, Topham, Pinwell, and Frederick Taylor were fairly represented. The English jurors were Armitage, Dobson, and Leighton. After full and careful examination, Landseer's "Sick Monkey" must be set down as our finest work shown. Nothing in any school approached it in facility of touch, true colour, perfection of texture, and intense expression.

In portraits we showed some few fine examples by Millais, Watts, and Oules; but Leighton's "Captain Burton" was in the opinion of many critics the finest English portrait, holding a place above the best of the French. In the highest walk of Art we had nothing; and even in landscape we were but poorly represented. In the former department, not only France, but especially Austro-Hungary and Belgium, were our superiors. We had one negative advantage over our French competitors—the absence throughout the entire English collection of that gross indecorum which too often mars French Art. Turn where you would, you were confronted, in the French section, with pictures which ought never to have been admitted. If Leonardo da Vinci was distressed in his last moments by the recollection of some of his works, what kind of death-bed terrors await many of our modern artists? Very different was the impression derived from that most enjoyable of reunions, the "Art-Treasures Exhibition" in Manchester. There Christian Art was, if not dominant, at least fairly represented. On every side was some noble work which told of man's redemption—which portrayed our Divine Lord's life from His manger to His tomb, His beloved mother, His apostles, and His saints. There, in Protestant England, the two most admired works were the "Three Marys" of Carracci, and the "Magi" by Jean de Mabuse. It was sad to see in this Exhibition, in Catholic France, how little there was of Christian Art. A few

admittedly fine works for the decoration of churches, and a few glittering examples of Bougereau, of the world, worldly, though fine in colour and faultless in drawing, and that was all. And if there was but little of Christian Art in painting, there was still less in sculpture. Here we English were very far behind-hand. A gold medal (a second class award) went to Sir F. Leighton for his "Athlete and Python," and a lower award to Boehm for his "Clydesdale Horse." Of the highest honours for sculpture, France took five, Russia and Italy one each.

In architecture, Waterhouse and E. M. Barry took *médailles d'honneur*; France took two, and Austria two.

In engraving, wood-cutting, and lithography, there is no award for England, although Doo, and Barlow, and Atkinson, and the Dalziels exhibited. Russia, France, and Italy take the highest honours. Thus as regards Fine Art, in one branch only, architecture, do we rank on a par with all our competitors. As to painting, we prove that in portrait-painting, at least, we need no foreign help. We may well be content with such masters as Leighton and Millais, Watts and Oules, Orchardson and Pettie. In high Art we show nothing; for it there is no demand in England. Let us hope the time may come when there will be.

The second *groupe* is that of Education and the Arts of Design, subdivided into primary, secondary, and superior. Some attention was paid to education in the two previous Exhibitions of Vienna and Philadelphia; but never has so much been done to foster its progress as in this last. France made a splendid show in all educational appliances, and presented a great contrast to England. At the Society of Arts, on the 8th of last October, a paper on this subject was read by Sir Charles Reed, the English juror of this section. It forms a very complete report on the subject of "primary" education at the Paris Exhibition. The paper enumerates in detail all that France had done and was doing at the Exhibition in the interests of education, and draws attention to the number of teachers from the provinces who were brought up to see and to learn, and who might have been noticed, every morning, receiving lessons and instructions in the use of what they saw. It notices the progress made in Belgium, in America, and in our own colonies. It describes at length the marvellous appliances and inventions of the Japanese—the beauty and excellence of their books, plans, maps, and models, which formed a collection unequalled in interest and effect. In connexion with the Japanese department, Sir Charles mentions the curious fact that among all the accomplished and practical men engaged in the exhibition of primary education, a Japanese

was the only one who could converse in English, and it was to him that he himself was indebted for making himself understood. After commending the efforts of Italy, Egypt, and China, the paper observes that the only advance of which England could boast was in the superiority of our desks and forms.

It was possible for every visitor to obtain complete information as to the use and meaning of the objects in this most interesting collection of educational appliances. Skilled teachers presided in various parts of the *groupe*, and willingly gave details. It was pleasing to note the presence of the Christian Brother, in his quaint hat and habit. It was interesting to see him in charge of several of the departments, and to mark his power of teaching, and to observe the polite and assiduous attention he showed to each inquirer. With unwearied carefulness he went over the various details again and again, as each new set of visitors presented themselves. To every one who showed himself interested he pointed out the particulars of his models and appliances with a clearness and a patience which proved how eminently he was fitted to teach.

In Primary Education, France gains two *diplomes d'honneur*, one for the Ministry of Public Instruction, the other for the Paris Ministry of Instruction. Belgium and Japan also obtained the highest honours. Among the second awards—the gold medals—Canada gains one for Quebec, one for Ontario, and the third for the Canadian Schools of the Christian Brothers. The London School Board gains one, France thirty, Belgium ten, Austria seven, the United States six, Russia four, Italy four, Japan, Switzerland, and Norway, one. Silver medals are gained by Greece, Spain, and the Republics of South America; in a word, by everybody except England.

In Secondary Education *diplomes d'honneur* are given to the Ministry of Public Instruction for France, to its Schools of Decorative Art, and to its School of Design for young girls. Here also Canada gains two medals. England has nothing.

In the department of high Art Education, South Kensington gains us a *diplome d'honneur*. Meanwhile, Russia has three, and the *grande médaille* is awarded to a Swede. France, Italy, the United States, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, Austro-Hungary, Holland, Japan, and Switzerland, all gain several gold medals. Silver medals are given to South Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. The name of England does not appear.

These results of our Educational and Art training are very humiliating; but there is something to be said in explanation. Our exhibited work from South Kensington was excellent; and if all our other schools had been fairly represented, we should

certainly have had a more favourable verdict. Not a tithe of the care was bestowed in getting up our case for the jury that was taken by all our competitors.

In this same Section, *Groupe second*, are classed Printing and Publishing. In this, Russia, the United States, and France, take the highest honours; but gold medals are given to *The Graphic*, to Houghton & Co., to Spottiswoode, and to the *Illustrated London News*.

In Paper-making, Bookbinding, and Artists' materials, Russia again takes the highest award, shared, however, with Japan. Gold medals go to Gillot, Goodall, Pirie, and Waterlow. Winsor and Newton (Thackeray's well-known firm of Artists' colourmen, "Soap and Isaac") did not exhibit.

In Photography, Portugal, Austria, France, and Russia, gain *Diplomes d'honneur*. Vernon Heath, Dallmayer, Ross, and Robinson, receive gold medals.

In Musical Instruments, the *grande médaille* is given to France; a gold medal to Hopkinson. (Many of our best makers, such as Broadwood and Collard, did not exhibit.) France has seventeen, Austro-Hungary one, Russia one, and the United States one.

In Mathematical Instruments all the highest honours were taken by France; but gold medals were given to Dallmeyer, Grub, Légé, Negretti and Zambra, Ross, and Sir William Thompson.

In Maps, *Diplomes d'honneur* were taken by Adelaide, Queensland, and Canada; by Austro-Hungary, Belgium, France, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. The reader must excuse the long list of names in this second *groupe*. In the one branch in which we are thought to have signally failed, it was necessary to show who amongst our exhibitors had distinguished themselves; and it was not less necessary to indicate whether or not our best representatives had entered the competition.

The present serious depression in trade, which is felt everywhere, but especially in Great Britain, the great seat of industry, gives momentous importance to the next question—How did we show at Paris in Manufactures.

I begin with our first and greatest—Cotton-spinning and weaving.

In this most important industry, which absorbs the greatest amount of our capital, and employs the largest number of our people in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Scotland, we were very poorly represented; and a reason is assigned in a letter received by the writer a few days ago from the well-known spinner and manufacturer, Mr. Benjamin Armitage, of Manchester.

The writer says:—

The Exhibition presented a very fine display of the productions of France, and showed the great advance it had made since their first Exhibition; but it could scarcely be called a competitive show between France and England, for this district (Lancashire) was only represented by a very small number of exhibitors. There was not as fine a show of Lancashire fabrics in the Exhibition, as would be seen if a purchaser came to look over our present productions in the warehouse, or as one might see in any well-dressed shop in Oxford Street, in London. Now, what is the reason to be given for this? I answer, it is due to the entire absence of any inducement to us manufacturers to exhibit—to show the French people what we are doing. The essential inducement that we should undertake the trouble and expense of exhibiting is in the hope that it may be profitable to ourselves. This it cannot possibly be, for we are practically shut out from carrying on any business with France, owing to the very high protective tariff which is imposed on cotton goods. There is no general interest taken in France on the question of free trade—that is by the community; and the Legislature is in the hands of parties who profit by protection. There are some free-traders, after a sort, in France, but it is only in theory; they are politicians on other questions first, and free-traders subordinately to this. It might have been useful to exhibit our staple goods, suited for domestic wear, for the admiration of the people, had it been allowed to put *our selling prices* on the specimens, but this it was forbidden to do.

We manufactured the material called Zephyr and other cotton goods suited for men's shirts and women's dresses, which would be well adapted for French consumption; but the trade is quite out of our reach; the *15 per cent. duty is fatal to it*. The article I have just referred to was an invention of this country, and we ourselves did much towards its development. For some time prior to the last two years there was a considerable trade carried on with France, but the French makers immediately set about to produce such goods themselves, and consequently very soon ceased to buy from us. For a while we had their custom, because it was a novelty, and they could afford to buy from us at our price plus the 15 per cent. duty, but that soon came to an end. The French can manufacture at about our cost and readily adapt themselves to new wants. The French protectionist manufacturer asserts the contrary. But is not what we state proved by the fact that our trade has become so insignificant? And all the while the French makers are memorialising to have the duties raised still higher. Notice, that whilst all this is going on, the consuming class, which numbers one hundred times as many as the producers of any article, remain silent. Possibly at one time we enjoyed an advantage over French makers. We did so in 1860. At that time, soon after the Treaty of Commerce came into force, I visited the manufacturing towns of Orne, in Normandy, and found nearly all employed on the hand-loom; but in this Exhibition I noticed a manifesto from one of the chief commercial towns in Normandy, Flers,

signed by M. Touririant, the Maire, whom I formerly knew, that the great development of their trade had dated from 1860, when they were forced by the threatened competition with England to leave the old ways and adopt the newest machinery and appliances to compete in future with us as to excellence and cheapness of manufacture. They have certain advantages over us, and we some over them; but if they want to excel us nothing will put them on their mettle but unrestricted free trade.

This letter gives a very sufficient reason for the small number of our exhibitors from the cotton manufacturing districts—"the prohibition to put our selling prices on the specimens exhibited." It fully explains the annihilation of our trade with France, by their impost of 15 per cent., and by the substitution of our best machinery for their old hand-loom work. This last great advance from 1860, the change from the hand-loom to the power-loom, was remarked, amongst other improvements, in 1867. Dr. Lyon Playfair writes:—"With very few exceptions, a singular coincidence of opinion prevailed, that our country had shown, in the examination of the Paris International Exhibition of 1867, but little progress; out of ninety classes, there were scarcely a dozen in which pre-eminence is awarded to us." And Mr. Murray, speaking of what in 1860 was essentially our own, says, in 1867, that "anything like an extensive empire or undisputed sway in the cotton trade was no longer possible for us." We have been fitting out our competitors with all our newest machinery, and teaching them all we knew, till we come to the state of the grandsire in the old rhyme, who

To teach his grandson draughts
His leisure did employ,
Until the old man at last
Was beaten by the boy.

But the game is not a fair one. The fatal 15 per cent. shuts us out of the French market. Protection, in this instance, handicaps the foreign manufacturer so heavily that he is out of the race. And the benefit is reaped, not by the multitude who consume, but by the few who produce. Yet the Maire of Flers, in his manifesto alluded to just now, admits that it was English competition which caused the advance in his own district. No doubt there are other causes nearer home, of our inability to compete. There is the trade-unionism, which has embittered the relations between employer and employed. There is the possession, by foreign nations, of machinery quite as good as our own. We possess no automatic wonder, no labour-economiser, that is not known to our competitors. There is a limit to man's invention, even in cotton-spinning machinery; and we seem almost to have reached it. Two facts in cotton manufacture

seem to be clearly shown by this Exhibition, first, that protection shuts us out of France; and secondly, that our cheaper and more abundant capital, our greater facilities of transport, and our cheaper fuel, are more than counterbalanced by the cheaper labour and longer hours of foreign operatives.

The awards in this industry are, *Diplomes d'honneur* for the Chambers of Commerce of Barcelona (!), Lille, Paisley, Prague (!), and Moscow (!). Two *grandes médailles* for France, and one for Tootal, Broadhurst, Lee, & Co., of Manchester. Gold medals.—E. Armitage & Sons (previous award), Ashworth, Brooks, Clark, Coats, and Horrocks, Miller and Co.; also thirty-one to France, five to Russia, three to Switzerland, two to the United States, one each to Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, and Sweden.

Do these awards represent the true position of Lancashire and Yorkshire in this our greatest industry? Or, rather, do they not simply show our position in the Exhibition of 1878? Is Barcelona, or Moscow, or Prague to be "Cottonopolis" in the room of Manchester?

The remarks made on cotton-spinning and cotton fabrics apply equally to all our other textile exhibits. Certainly Ireland does take one of the highest honours in Flaxen and Hempen manufactures, *médailles d'honneur* being granted to Belfast as to Lille and Ghent, *grandes médailles* to Barbour of Lisburn, to France and Belgium, and gold medals to York Street Co., Belfast, Guynet of Lurgan, and Dawson of Bradford; whilst France gains twenty-four, Belgium five, Austro-Hungary two, Japan and Italy one.

In combed Wool, Merinos, and Serges, five *diplomes d'honneur* go to France, and one to Egypt. Gold medals are given to Akroyd, Foster, and Priestman; but forty gold medals are taken by France, and one by Austro-Hungary. In Carded Wool, Woollen Yarn and Cloth, *diplomes d'honneur* go to Leeds, Huddersfield, and the West of England; six, however, are gained by France, and one each by Belgium, Austro-Hungary, Russia, and Denmark. Gold medals go to Carr, Child, Hepworth, Hooper, Marling, Salter, Stubbley, and Taylor. France takes nineteen, Belgium seven, Austro-Hungary six, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal, one. In Silk and Silk Fabrics we have some very distinguished competitors. *Diplomes d'honneur* are given to the Shah of Persia, to the King of Siam, and to our own Indian Government; three to France, two to Japan, and one to Austro-Hungary and to Switzerland. All the seven *grandes médailles* go to France. Brocklehurst and Courtauld take gold medals; France takes thirty-seven, Switzerland five, Japan four, Italy four, Russia three, Spain

two. In the last two of our great textile industries, Nottingham goods, Lace fabrics of the Needle or Loom, and Hosiery, *diplomes d'honneur* go to the town of Nottingham and to the Shah of Persia, five to France and one to Belgium; a *grande médaille* to Morley of Nottingham; gold medals to Copestake, Hughes and Crampton, to Mallet, and the Nottingham Manufacturing Co.; thirty-two to France, five to Austro-Hungary, three to Belgium, and two to Switzerland. In Tapestry and Carpets the Shah of Persia, Beauvais and the Gobelins Factory take *diplomes d'honneur*. Gold medals are given to the Royal Manufactory of Windsor, to our Indian Government, to Brinton, Southwell, Templeton and Thom, and Lawson, against twenty-five to France, one to Holland, and the *grande médaille* for Belgium.

The reader will again excuse this tedious enumeration, especially if he notices that he has been spared the recital of the awards in silver and bronze medals, the interminable lists of "*mentions honorables*," and "*collaborateurs*," the total number of which, for the whole Exhibition, exceeds 20,000 names. With the exception of the Lace, much of which showed great beauty of design as well as perfection of manufacture, and of the Tapestry from Windsor, in the rooms of the Royal Commission, and the Carpets, there were nothing in all these industrial products to interest any one not concerned in the trade of the respective classes exhibited. The enumeration of the awards is necessary, however, to mark our relative position in this last show of the world's progress. Our own producers, and those who know us well, may favourably contrast our real position with the one we take in the Exhibition; but the world at large will judge our powers of production by the standard of 1878.

In the next class to be considered—Ceramics—we may rest satisfied with those grounds of decision.

In Ceramics we have decidedly eclipsed all our former exhibitions. All our well-known makers showed to excellent advantage in faience, in porcelain, in majolica, and in Palissy ware; in white and coloured Parian; in *fac similes* of the antique, of Persian, and of Indian; in jewelled porcelain; in vases painted and enamelled over and under glaze; in designs classical and *renaissance*; in flowers, figures, fruit, and landscape. There was everywhere the highest excellence of form and colour, and the most exquisite and perfect finish. The elegance of design and the knowledge of drawing and colour shown by the artists throughout this class can be traced in great measure to the art-training in the Schools of Design. And the improvement in the manufacture has certainly kept

pace with its progress in art. It was always one of our admitted superiorities in industry. In 1835 nearly forty-six millions of "pieces" were exported. Nearly half a century ago M. Faujas de Saint Fond wrote: "The solidity, the power of sustaining the action of fire, the fine glaze, and the cheapness (of the British manufacture) has given rise to a commerce so universal that from Paris to St. Petersburg, from Amsterdam to Sweden, and from Dunkirk to the extremity of the south of France, one is served upon English ware." We had some noble competitors in this section. Sèvres, Limoges, Cher, all showed much exquisite work, certainly not to be surpassed. And in the Japanese and Chinese sections there was a certain barbaric splendour in the work, a charm, chiefly in colour, which is hardly equalled either by France or ourselves. *Diplomes d'honneur* were granted to Japan, to Cher, to Sèvres, and Limoges; one *grande médaille* to Minton, two to France. The Royal Porcelain Works, Worcester, Wedgwood, Copeland, Brown and Co. and Doulton, take gold medals; France has thirteen, Japan four, Austro-Hungary three, China one, Spain one, and Sweden two.

There yet remain two of our greatest industries to be compared with foreign competition—the manufactures of Iron and Steel, and of Machinery. The *Times*, in one of its articles on "Iron and Steel at the French Exhibition," said: "England is not represented in a manner worthy of her high prestige and her manufacturing resources. . . . Judged from the standpoint of this exhibition, the most that can be said is, that if England has held her own she has done so by such a narrow margin that the judicious must view the result with far more of apprehension than of confidence and approval." To begin with group fifth, class 43. In this division are exhibited not only metals in a crude state, but pig and manufactured iron and steel in all their forms, edge tools, and what is in the trade called blacksmiths' work; also mineral fuel, and large samples of the different kinds of coal, such as Wallsend, Cannel, and steam smokeless coal. Of this last, one block, weighing 3 tons 16cwt. was shown. For cutlery there was another class, No. 23, in which the old firms of Brookes and Brookes, and Rogers were, as usual, in the first places. But even here France took four places of distinction to our two. Iron in all its forms was shown by the Cleveland Iron Masters' Association. One of their samples showed the exact weight of ore, limestone, and coke required to make one ton of pig iron. Ulverston, Cumberland, Staffordshire, and Shropshire also exhibited iron ores and pig iron. Here our natural advantages keep us for the present in the front rank. It is when we come to manufactured

iron that the competition tells. In the article of the *Times* already quoted we read :

Belgium, with inferior resources, has wrested many orders from England, because of her cheaper labour and her greater attention to smaller economies, though Belgium cannot now, nor ever could, do anything that English manufacturers could not rival. Yet last year Belgium imported from Great Britain 81,300 tons of pig iron, and sent her in return 52,661 tons of manufactured iron, chiefly in the form of beams, angles, and girders.

This is still going on. From Bolckow, Vaughan and Co.'s furnaces iron continues to go to Belgium because the work can be done as well as at home, and more cheaply. This is not confined to Belgium. It was stated in the *Engineer* of August 9th that a contract for steel rails was successfully tendered for by a Westphalian firm, which had to buy their Bessemer-iron at Barrow-in-Furness, and the cost of the iron, with the carriage, amounted to one-half of the price to be received for the finished product; that Belgian manufactured English iron, carriage free, was sold in *Sheffield* at 6*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* a ton against home-manufactured at 9*l.* per ton; that English workmen in some branches of the iron trade had been making half as much each day of shorter hours as their foreign competitors made in a week.

But our most formidable rival is to be found in France in the Creusot works of MM. Schneider et Cie. In the Exhibition the most perfect display of modern improvement in this class was to be seen in the annexe; coal and iron stone, crude iron, and iron manufactured by the Bessemer and Martin-Siemens process, fluid steel ingots, every form and condition of which iron is capable. There was a wonderful model of their gigantic crane, capable of lifting 160 tons, and of their steam hammer, twice the size of the forger of our much-vaunted Woolwich Infants, and thirty tons heavier than any other that has yet been made. A few facts connected with this firm, the greatest iron-masters in the world, and our most marked competitor in this Exhibition, may be interesting to the reader. Its resources of production are equal to an annual output of 700,000 tons of coal, 200,000 tons of pig iron, 160,000 tons of manufactured iron and steel, and 30,000 tons of engines and other machines. It employs 15,250 men, and its buildings and workshops cover an area of 59 acres. The returns made up for this Exhibition by MM. Schneider et Cie. show that the total production of coal for 1877-78 has been 549,000 tons, whilst their consumption for the same period has been 572,000 tons, and 165,000 tons of coke. Speaking in Paris of this firm, Dr. Siemens, chairman of the Iron and Steel Institute, might well say at

one of the meetings of that Institute, "We shall go home with the conviction that we have returned from a visit to formidable rivals in the markets of the world." We gain in this class a *diplome d'honneur* for Cleveland, *grandes médailles* for Brown and Co., Cammel, Johnson, Mathey and Co., and Sir Joseph Whitworth (previous award), against eight for France, two for Austro-Hungary, one for Belgium, one for Russia, and one for Sweden.

In machinery for textile fabrics we were fairly represented. One Lancashire firm sent a complete set of machines for the entire work of cotton spinning and weaving, beginning with the cotton as imported, and taking it through all its stages of ginning, carding, and spinning, and finally passing it on to the power-loom, where it was woven into calico. Another machine, the electric stop-motion, went still farther. If the required number of "plies" were not going inwards to the yarn in process of manufacture, or if, on the delivery side, any thread was broken, this machine stopped till things were set right. There was the usual show of wonder-working tools in wood; there were several curious adaptations of power for shaping stones, and a very clever machine for "dressing" mill-stones. In machine tools Platt Brothers (Limited) gain the highest award; but gold medals are given to Dobson and Barlow, to Fairburn, Kennedy, and Naylor, to Howard and Bullock, and to Lawson and Sons. France gained seven, and Belgium two. In machine tools there was a great surprise for the experts; the highest award was to Russia. *Grandes Médailles*, however, went to Sir Joseph Whitworth and to Tweedell. France gained but one. Gold medals were given to Sharpe, Stewart, and Co., to Brown and Sharpe, and to Greenwood and Batley. France took four, and the United States three.

Our position as exhibitors of locomotives was, relatively to France, the same as that we held in other industries. In the engines there is not much difference in speed or traction-power; but in appearance the contrast is as great as there used to be between the stage-coach and the diligence. In the French engines the overhanging work projects so much that they could not run on any English railway with the ordinary six-foot space between the rails. It is not, however, in appearance only that the difference exists. We learn from a writer in the *Engineer* "that very wide departures from English practice are met with at every turn; and we are led to the conclusion either that English practice is all wrong, or that French practice is all wrong, or that it matters very little what form a locomotive assumes as long as it has wheels to carry it, a boiler to supply steam, and cylinders to propel it. Let the answer be

what it may, we have nothing at all like these French engines in England." They find favour, however, abroad, for Schneider et Cie. send out more than a hundred every year. In this class *diplomes* were taken by the French railway companies ; whilst Austro-Hungary received three, and Belgium one. The *grande médaille* went to MM. Schneider et Cie ; and to Sharpe, Stewart, and Co. a gold medal.

One of the most prominent exhibits in the English machinery department was the compound condensing engine employed in driving all the English machinery. The huge driving-strap, more than 100 feet long, and a yard wide, was a great object of attraction. This engine, made and fitted up by Galloway and Sons, of Manchester, has all the latest improvements. Models of the boilers, the patent of the makers, were placed close to the engine, which gained for them a *grande médaille* ; but three were given to Switzerland and three to France, and there was a "previous award" to Sir Joseph Whitworth. There were many models of vessels and engines sent from the great firms on the Thames, the Clyde, and the Mersey ; of these, Penn of Greenwich and Laird of Birkenhead took *médailles d'honneur* ; but the highest awards were to the *Ministères de la Guerre*, both of Spain and France.

In agricultural implements we were well represented. This branch of machine-making, to judge from the exhibits, seems to be spreading over the whole of England. Essex and Norfolk, and Suffolk and Dorset and Lincoln, competed with the great centres of coal and iron. Even here Russia and France and Austro-Hungary gained the highest honours, though all our leading firms took gold medals.

We have at last reached the end of this long list of our chief industries. We have not stood still in any one class ; yet we find our competitors side by side with us in all ; nay, if the awards be a fair test, even in advance of us in most. We have examined closely our position in the chief industries only of England as shown in Paris, in 1878. But the same holds equally in all the classes. It is true of arms for the chase, and rifles. Few of our crack shots at the butts, or at a match, or on the moors, would think themselves efficiently equipped with a foreign central or pin-fire : although Purdy received a medal, the highest honours went to Algeria, to the Bay of Tunis, to the Shah of Persia, and to the Ministries of War of Spain and of Holland. These awards must certainly have been given on account of other arms than rifles and guns. In artillery and projectiles, Spain, Italy, Holland, and France, are all before us. Yet Whitworth showed one of his breech-loading steel guns, and several specimens of the power of his wonderful steel

projectiles, the pierced and the piercer lying side by side; he exhibited his fluid-compressed steel cylinders, capable of bearing a working pressure of four tons to the square inch; he had on view a complete series of photographs illustrating his workshops and his tools; and Whitworth received only a second class award. No Englishman could have expected to find English saddles and harness beaten by Spain. Yet in this division, France and Spain take all the gold medals. It is observable that, in the late Exhibition, Spain took the lead in many classes, and that she beat England in seventeen. Even in beer we have the mortification of knowing that Vienna and Denmark bore away the prize from London and Burton. There was plenty of Bass and Allsopp in the Exhibition, but none for show. Our position in 1878 is even worse than Dr. Lyon Playfair described it in 1867. Then, out of the ninety classes, there were scarcely a dozen in which pre-eminence was unanimously awarded to us; now, it has to be said that there are scarcely half a dozen. In machine-tool mechanism we undoubtedly hold the first place, and it is true that this is the most important of all. It is the basis of all machinery construction; the accuracy at which it aims bears the same relation to hand-work as the ruled-line does to free-hand drawing. It might take a Raphael to draw a perfect circle; but a child can strike one with a pair of compasses. Accuracy of form and exactness of fit may be obtained by patient toil and great skill, with hand-labour; but you have only to "set" the planing and shaping machine, and the result is always correct. Even this pre-eminence is one which we cannot long hold. The best English machine is but a pattern for our competitors to copy. M. Schneider can at least reproduce all that our best shops can turn out, and certainly he can produce it more cheaply. He has the advantage not only of cheaper labour, but of longer hours. The immense capital sunk in great workshops is idle when the hands are idle. So many hours less work so much less interest is there on capital. It is precisely this amount of extra time which measures the difference of gain to France over England. In writing of marine engines at the Exhibition, the *Engineer* "warns the English working man that the rival with whom we have to contend is at our very gates. Even in branches in which England has hitherto distanced all competitors a rivalry is springing up, the effects of which must soon be felt in this country. Longer hours are worked and at much lower wages. It is useless to urge that the Englishman does more work than a Frenchman. The capacity of a shop for turning out work is measured now far more by its tools than its men, and in this France is not far behind us." Of the hundreds of skilled artisans who went to

the Exhibition from English machine-shops we must hope that many returned wiser men. There was much, also, to be learned by the masters. If Protection has shut us out of the continent, has not bad work injured our foreign trade? The days of shoddy and oversizing, china-clay, and other iniquities, are they altogether past? Such dealing raised a cry against us in every market in the world. A few dishonest men can give a name to a nation's goods, which years of honest production will scarcely remove.

Apart from the world's hard industries, there was much to admire in English work in every class where Art-training could be made to tell. The same improvement that marked our Ceramics was seen in our Furniture, in which a *grande médaille* was awarded to Jackson and Graham. Not only were the designs of their inlaid work in woods and ivory admirable and most excellent, but the fine finish of all that they exhibited was deserving of all praise. Beautiful as was the Japanese and Chinese inlaid work, it seemed less finely finished than that of the English firm.

The same advance on former Exhibitions was manifest in Clear and Stained Glass. A *grande médaille* was given to Webb and Sons; *diplomes d'honneur* went to Venice, Bohemia, Belgium, and France.

The patience of the reader has doubtless been considerably exercised by the somewhat minute details with which some of the awards have been treated. In reality, much more has been left unsaid than has been said. Many classes have been altogether passed over, and hundreds of worthy objects, on which exhibitors have lavished care and expense and labour, have been necessarily left unnoticed. Had there been space, it would have been instructive and interesting to speak of the place which our Colonies held in the Exhibition which has lately closed. Every one of them exhibited extensively, and every one of them was well and successfully represented. A glance through the list of "recompenses" shows that not one English Colony but is marked for reward—North American, all the Australian, New Zealand, Mauritius, and the Cape. It is but just to remark that Canada distinguished herself the most. Our Colonies, in spite of their productiveness, and the excellence of what they produce, are not as yet our rivals; they are our markets; and they will year by year continue to afford us a better market—until English capital and English machinery enable them to produce what they now buy, and, like India, they become competitors with us even in those things which we are best able to offer them.

The site and general appearance of the Exhibition of 1878,

its humours, its marked features, and its superficial characteristics, have been described—and perhaps over-described—by many skilful hands, writing day by day for the information of those who stayed at home, and the stirring of pleasing memories in those who had been to see. In truth, there was much to see and to study, and many opportunities of enjoyment, without entering the building in the Champs de Mars at all. It was pleasant merely to saunter in the grounds, to sit beside the fountains and among the statues, to wander from “house” to “house” where China or Japan or Morocco worked, talked, sold, and lived strange lives, and where you could examine at your leisure a hundred curious differences in living, in dressing, in eating, and in drinking, from the English “dairy” to the awful and terrible music of Tunis. There was a magnificent “lodge,” wherein was gathered together everything that related to the chase; and among the thousand useful and necessary, as well as useless and impossible, objects that cumbered the walls and strewed the tables, it was doubtless somewhat scandalous not to see the sherry flask and the sandwich box. But the lodge is to be set up permanently in the Bois, and some English hunting-man may yet remedy the omission. You could wander into the Aquarium. The Aquarium of the “Exposition” was not very large, and not particularly well supplied; but its cool recesses were cunningly hidden in the very bowels of the earth, and you went down through fantastic openings in the rocks to picturesque caves and vaults, where the half-light came in through the glass tanks, and dimly showed a fairy scene of rocky arch and pillar. And when you grew tired of the sun, the gardens, and the crowd, you might, on most days, have found a contemplative solitude among the skulls and skeletons of the ethnological department, and spend an hour in comparing the cranial development of your fathers and your brothers, from the eldest of those silent memorials down to the unpleasant tattooed head of the contemporary New Zealander.

The Exposition has not been a financial success. The visitors were quite as numerous, apparently, as well-informed people expected. There were days when the number of those who entered was more than double the number of those who went in any one day to the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851. And we may here note that, at this last Exhibition, the familiar “turnstile” was dispensed with, and our neighbours and their guests entered by “tickets,” the officials thus at once adopting a new word into the French language, and making an innovation in practice which was not regretted. But in spite of the numbers who came, and of the double-franc charged for entrance in the earlier hours of the day, and the three francs per thousand visitors, levied on the restaurants in the Trocadéro grounds,

and the six francs per thousand on those in the Champs de Mars, and even of the 12,000,000 lottery tickets sold at a franc a piece, there will be a deficit when all the accounts are made up.

W. H. BOWER.

ART. VII.—AN EXAMINATION OF MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S "PSYCHOLOGY."—PART VII.

(Continued from p. 439, Vol. xxx.)

CHAPTER XIV.—THE PERCEPTION OF SPACE.

THIS important chapter may be thus summarised:—§ 330. We may be encouraged to analyse our perception of space by the reflection that "sound" shows us that we *can* have consciousness without the conception "space." § 331. That conception is a consciousness of countless co-existent positions with freedom for motion, and results from the dissociation of particular motions and particular impressions in our own past life and in the past lives of countless ancestors. § 332. This origin accounts for the "necessity" of our space-intuitions, reconciling the *à priori* hypothesis (as for the individual) with the *à posteriori* hypothesis (as for the race). § 333. Irreconcilable with the Kantian hypothesis are the facts that sensations of sound and odour do not yield the consciousness of space, and that this is yielded in proportion with the mobility of the different sense organs, as are also other phenomena, the "swelled space" of De Quincey, &c.—all quite reconcilable with evolutionary experientialism. § 334. As to the ultimate problem of co-existent positions in consciousness, we shall hereafter see that a relation of co-existence is only cognisable by a comparison of experiences, and therefore "space" cannot be a mental form. § 335. Materials of space-perception are co-ordinated into the act of perception by the automatic classification of relations through our lives and those of ancestral organisms.

In handling the important subject here treated of, Mr. Spencer begins (p. 178, § 330) by referring to Kant's doctrine that space is a mental form, and to Sir William Hamilton's objection to any inquiry as to the steps by which the notion of extension has been acquired,—an objection grounded on our inability "to imagine to ourselves the possibility of that notion not being always in our possession."

Mr. Spencer objects to this objection, that even if we could not conceive of consciousness existing without the notion of

extension, yet, "by examining mental processes objectively, we may gain the means of conceiving how our own consciousness of space was constructed."

But Mr. Spencer finds it "quite possible to imagine trains of thought in which space is not implied," namely, thoughts respecting the "mutual relations" of sounds, experienced, in a nascent intelligence by themselves, and incapable of "space-implications" or of "disclosing any part of the organism affected," but admitting of being "remembered and compared without any notion of extension being involved."

But is it so? Would any number or complexity of mere sounds avail to elicit intellectual activity? By themselves they would be but sensations, and if they did excite intellectual activity, they would be perceived by the intellect as related facts, occurring in succession; and succession is inconceivable without co-existence, and this is impossible, according to Mr. Spencer, without the conception "space." He actually tells us (p. 201), that "the idea of space involves the idea of co-existence, and the idea of co-existence involves the idea of space"; and he points out "the indissoluble union between the cognition of space and the cognition of co-existence." Noting by the way this very singular self-refutation, the whole contention may be dismissed as idle. It may be questioned whether an infant who had only one sense, even if that sense were sight, could ever attain to intellectual activity.

In the next section (p. 183, § 331), our author proceeds with great ingenuity to represent the idea of space as acquired from motions and impressions variously disassociated. The first question he asks is, "How, through experiences of occupied extension or body, can we ever gain the notion of unoccupied extension or space?" This he explains by the fact that different impressions accompany different motions, every position co-existing with the subject, and thus a consciousness of countless co-existent positions arises,—i.e., space. This explanation is not offered, however, as ultimate, but partial; the great difficulty being "to account for our notion of relative position." Carrying out the idea above suggested, he notices the structure of the retina, the power of sight to cognise with varying distinctness different objects simultaneously, and the mobility of the organ in adjustment, and he concludes: "As the innumerable relations subsisting among these co-existent positions were originally established by motion; as each of these relations came by habit to stand for the series of mental states accompanying the motion which measured it; as every one of such relations must, when presented to consciousness, still tend to call up, in an indistinct way, that train of feelings

accompanying motion which it represents; and as the simultaneous presentation of an infinity of such relations will tend to suggest an infinity of such experiences of motion, which, as being in all directions, must so neutralise one another as to prevent any particular motion from being thought of; there will arise, as their common resultant, that sense of *ability to move*, that sense of *freedom for motion*, which form the remaining constituents in our notion of space." He adds, that (to facilitate the conception) we should recollect the experiences of the kind, of all our brute ancestry, their early commencement in ourselves, their infinite repetition and absolute uniformity, and our power of imagining through the eye countless such simultaneous experiences. He illustrates the conception by our written symbols, and he ends by saying, "Our space-perceptions have become a language in which we think of surrounding things, without at all thinking of those experiences of motion which this language expresses."

But in the first place, if it is true, as Mr. Spencer says, that the idea of co-existence involves the idea of space, we must have this idea, ere we are aware of any impressions or motions at all. For we cannot have the ideas of succession which Mr. Spencer supposes without having the idea of co-existence, which, according to him, involves that of space. Moreover, Mr. Spencer seems to think that succeeding impressions, or, as he would call them, successive states of consciousness, become in some way a perception of succession itself, without the intervention of an active synthetic intellect. This idea is as absurd as would be the belief that a succession of waves of light falling upon an eye, the optic nerve of which was deficient, would generate sight! The account he gives may be one of the means by which our mind is aroused to the perception of the extension of objects, and may account for the powers of motion, and all the actions of brutes in relation to extended objects; but let the reader pause and consider whether Mr. Spencer's account of the conception "space" accords with his own. Let the reader consider whether a "consciousness of countless co-existent positions with freedom of motion" really answers to his idea of space. It may be that if he is not more or less of a metaphysician, he may doubt whether he has any real conception of "space" at all. The vulgar have probably no such conception, and I myself do not believe in the real existence of space. What we all believe in is, that bodies are extended, and we have, plainly enough, the idea of "extension." Nor can we think of "positions" or "motions" without already having it, though sensations due to objective positions and motions of bodies may, and doubtless do, elicit

it from our intellect. Once elicited, however, we see that the conception "extension" is most inadequately represented by positions and motions; not that any form of words can make clearer an idea which is primitive and incapable of analysis. Our organisation is formed, like that of animals, to obtain by the senses a sense-cognition of extended bodies; and our intellect is further able to apprehend their extended quality, and to conceive the abstract idea extension; though, as our whole being is a unity, the intellect acts through and with the sense, and, we think, in feeling.

What, then, is "space?" I believe it to be a mere abstraction from extension. "Extension" itself is of course an abstraction from extended things, but in the idea "extension" some extended body is always thought of. When we speak of "space" we mean the quality "extension" as completely abstracted from all bodies whatever, and thought of purely by itself. "Extension" is real and objective as a quality of real extended objects; "space" is altogether ideal; and when we speak of bodies as "occupying space," it is a mere *façon de parler*, denoting the exclusion of one extended body by another. This view serves to do away with two difficulties. (1) It reconciles philosophy with common sense: the vulgar do not believe in "space," but in extended bodies of all kinds juxtaposed; and in this, as in so much else, they are quite right. We know now that those were wrong who denied that Nature abhorred a vacuum, at least no real vacuum is now known to exist. (2) It does away with the difficulty as to the infinity or non-infinity of space: for no one is compelled to believe in an infinite material universe of extended objects, and wherever they cease, space necessarily ceases with them. Our impotence to imagine the end of the material universe simply results from lack of experience. We certainly do not perceive any *positive* necessity for its infinity, as we perceive the necessity of two and two making four, or the whole being greater than its part. Of course "space" is potentially infinite, inasmuch as God may create any amount of addition to the material universe as it now exists. Moreover, "space" may be said to receive a certain derived reality from the idea of the Divine duration. Thus considered, objective space may be regarded as more than the abstract extension of all extended things, namely, the *duration* of the mutual exclusion of all extended things.

Mr. Spencer next proceeds (p. 190, § 332) to show how his hypothesis accounts for the apparent necessity of our space-intuitions, and how it reconciles the *à priori* view, as applied to the individual, with the *à posteriori* view, as applied to the race. After the fundamental objections just made, as to the

truth of the hypothesis, it is unnecessary to dispute as to what it explains or does not explain, but passing exceptions may be carefully noted. He says (p. 194), "The truth that a straight line is the shortest line between two points lies latent in the structure of the eyes and the nervous centres which receive and co-ordinate visual impressions." This is true in so far as such structure, reception, and co-ordination are conditions precedent to the intellectual perception of the mathematical truth referred to. It would even be, to a certain extent, a less unsatisfactory statement if it was a fact that our intellect was merely impotent to think anything but a straight line as the shortest way between two points—if, that is, the necessity was merely negative. But such conditions are utterly insufficient to account for our power of *positively* perceiving that such must be the case everywhere and always, and that Omnipotence could not make it otherwise. Any one who says that he does not see this necessity, simply shows, if he is truthful, that his intellect is defective. That our intellect is not restricted to the extent Mr. Spencer imagines, is shown by an illustration of his own as to the impossibility "for the hand to grasp by bending the fingers outwards instead of inwards." This is, of course, impossible; but not only is it not impossible for us to conceive such a grasp, but some of us, at least, can even *imagine* it.

Mr. Spencer then (p. 195 § 333), treats of phenomena which he deems irreconcilable with the Kantian hypothesis. In the first place, the fact that sensations of sound and odour do not of themselves "yield the consciousness of space," and secondly, the fact that this "consciousness" is so "yielded" by the different senses in proportion to the variety and rapidity of the sensations of motion which go along with the receipt of it. Again he notes (p. 197), our less complete perception of remote than of near space, and (p. 198) our more complete perception of space in the vicinity of any object we gaze on, than of space more remote from such object. He also refers to the swelling of space, described by De Quincey as a result of opium, and all these he declares (p. 201) to be unaccountable on the Kantian theory, "seeing that the *form* of intuition should remain constant, whether the intuition itself be normal or abnormal." I can imagine, however, that a Kantist would reply well enough to these objections, but I am not concerned to defend Kant. The scholastic position is not touched in the remotest degree by any of the objections brought forward in this section. According to that position, as also according to common sense, it would be strange indeed if our perception of objects towards which our gaze and attention are directed should not be different to our perception of objects towards which neither are directed.

As to De Quincey's assertions, they instance but one form of distortion, of which another, namely the alcoholic perception of extended bodies, was known to mankind before De Quincey.

In the next paragraph (p. 201, § 334) Mr. Spencer proceeds to lay down certain dicta in anticipation of arguments in future chapters, and he attacks the problem of our consciousness of "two co-existent positions," in which, he says, the problem of space ultimately centres; postponing, however, "the more definite analysis" till the perception of motion comes to be dealt with.

As before said, he here affirms the necessary connexion of the idea of "space" and "co-existence," and remarks "two somethings cannot occupy absolutely the same position in space." But how does he know this? If the somethings are absolutely unextended somethings, what is to prevent any number of them co-existing in absolutely the same minimum of conceivable extension? I do not, therefore, admit that the idea of co-existence necessarily implies the idea of space. He goes on: "If it be said that one body can have co-existent attributes, and that, therefore, two attributes can co-exist in the same place, the reply is, that body itself is unthinkable, except as presenting co-existent positions—a top and a bottom, a right and a left. Body cannot be so diminished, even in imagination, as to present only one position. When it ceases to present in thought more than one position, it ceases to be body. And as attributes imply body—as a mere position in space can have no other attribute than that of position, it follows that a relation of co-existence, even between attributes, is inconceivable without an accompanying conception of space."

Surely here we have so transparent a fallacy that the question arises, Can it be worth while further to analyse the writings of an author who is capable gravely of propounding it? We have, in the first place, the assertion "attributes imply body," which is not true. Thus "justice" is an attribute of "virtue" in the abstract, and in the concrete would have been (as it is) an attribute of God, had nobody ever been created. We have, then, the second assertion, that "a mere position in space can have no other attribute than that of position," which, if not nonsense, is a truism. From this falsism and this truism combined, he tells us, "it follows that a relation of co-existence, even between attributes, is inconceivable without an accompanying conception of space." Now, if all this were true; if the falsism was a truth, and the truism a significant fact; and if the conclusion derived from both were as valid as it is in fact erroneous, what would it tell against "the co-existence of two

attributes in the same place?" Because we could not conceive two co-existing attributes without also conceiving space, does it follow in the least that we could not conceive them as co-existing, except as each existing in its own space apart? But what is the fact? It is perfectly clear that we can think of warmth, chemical affinity, magnetism, visibility, flavour, odour, weight, and a variety of other attributes as all simultaneously existing in the very same body; all, therefore, co-existing in absolutely the same place.

In the last section of the chapter (p. 202, § 335) he speaks of the automatic classification of the materials of space-perception, which I have no desire to controvert. In an appendix to the chapter, he supplements what he regards as a defect in his previous treatment of the subject, under the heading "Physical Synthesis," and he sketches out possibilities of the genesis of sense-cognition, of spatial relations, as we may suppose it to have arisen in brutes and which need in no way be contested; except, of course, his conclusion that what applies to the unintellectual animal applies also to the intellectual animal—man.

One or two of his remarks it may however be well to note. He says (p. 204): "It is natural to suppose that a rudimentary creature which, being impressed by an adjacent object, moves itself in the way required to lay hold of this object, must have a consciousness of position, such as we have." This is most true; the error is so natural a one, that people are continually falling into what he well calls "inverse anthropomorphism." He adds: "I believe it may be shown that between the two modes of consciousness there is an enormous difference." "We are not warranted in crediting an animal with a higher type of consciousness than its actions imply." There is indeed a difference between creatures which by intellectual language show they are self-conscious, and creatures which give no evidence of self-consciousness at all; and if only people did not do that for which Mr. Spencer here so properly says they have no warrant, we should be spared those childish tales of animal intelligence with which our patience is so often tried.

He speaks, however, of men born blind, in a way which requires correction. He says, *e.g.* (p. 205) of such a one: "even a square table he knows only in terms of the touches and tensions, partly simultaneous, but mainly successive, accompanying exploration of it." Now, that the blind man knows it *through* and by such touches and tensions is most true, but through them his intellect can gather much more than can be expressed "in terms of the touches and tensions."

Thus, for example, he can come to know that if it be divided into halves and that two exactly equal fragments be removed from each half, the two remainders will be exactly equal, and cannot possibly be otherwise. When he adds that in the absence of a structure inherited from prehuman ancestors, the congenitally blind man "would know nothing of things in space, save as occurring at certain places in the series of his conscious states," Mr. Spencer goes beyond what he has any right to affirm absolutely, and beyond what he has a right to affirm from his own antecedent assertions. For such a man could certainly attain to the conception of co-existence, and this, Mr. Spencer has told us, itself "involves the idea of space."

As to this whole chapter, it may be that the spatial sense-cognitions of brutes are evolved as our author so ingeniously represents; but, if so, and even if we inherit our nervous structure, as he supposes, this only affords the material groundwork upon which (or rather, perhaps, the framework through and in which) our intellect perceives in feeling—the framework by which our intellectual formal apprehension of extended objects of extension and of space are elicited. But our elicited perception is no mere "mental form," but a perception of objective truth abstracted from sense-cognition, by that same intellect which can penetrate the essences of phenomena, and see "sermons in stones, and good in everything."

CHAPTER XV.—THE PERCEPTION OF TIME.

Here the author represents that—§ 336—Our notions of time and space are nearly related, and there is reciprocity between our cognitions of them. § 337. The consciousness of time arises as the blank form of all relations of sequence; § 338, but only after experiences of different relations of position have been so accumulated as to dissociate the idea of the relation from all particular positions. § 339. Consciousness of time varies with the faculty of representation, and therefore with nervous structure. § 340. Perception of time passes very nearly into conception, and consists in the classing of the relation of serial positions contemplated on forming it, with certain before-known relations.

In this chapter the author, in the first place, notes (p. 207, § 336) the near relationship between our notion of time and that of space, as shown by terms common to the two, by the speech of uncivilised countries, and by our habit of thinking of a portion of time by the spaces of a clock-face instead of the periods they stand for. He then (p. 208, § 337) urges, truly

enough. that notions of time are inseparable from notions of sequence. Our notion of any period of time is determined by the length of the series of remembered states of consciousness experienced during that time. We know the time of any event as the position or *place* of its occurrence in the whole series of states of consciousness experienced during our lives. He adds—"By the time between them [*i.e.* between any two events] we mean their *relative positions* in the series." It appears to me that this is a misstatement. For my own part, by the time between my breakfast and my dinner of yesterday, I certainly do not mean the relative positions, in the series, of those two events, but a certain duration measured by events which have succeeded each other between them and which I perceive cannot be compressed into simultaneity any more than extended objects can be compressed into identity of extension. The time is not "their relative positions," but the duration of a series between them, and from which they themselves are excluded, otherwise than at its two termini. Instead, therefore, of saying, as he does, "a particular time is a relation of position between some two states in the series of states of consciousness," I should say, a particular time is a point in duration fixed by the relation of succession between two events to which the attention of the intellect is directed. Mr. Spencer adds: "Time in general, as known to us, is the abstract of all relations of positions among successive states of consciousness; or . . . the blank form in which these successive states are presented and re-presented; and which, serving alike for each, is not dependent on any."

For my part I venture to think that, as with "space" so with "time," we have to do with a mental abstraction having an objective basis. To this objective basis, which is the fact of the serial succession of events and objects, the merely animal psychosis may adapt itself, as Mr. Spencer represents, and practical sense-cognitions of time arise. But with the intellect it is different, as will be shortly urged. "Time" I believe to be, like "space," an abstraction of abstractions—an abstraction from succeeding things. In the idea of "succession" some two or more succeeding things are always thought of; but when we speak of "time," we mean "succession" as completely abstracted from all objects and events, and thought of purely by itself. "Succession" is real and objective as a quality of real succeeding objects. "Time" is altogether ideal; and when we speak of events as occurring in time, it is a mere *façon de parler* denoting the exclusion of one succeeding thing by another. Time may receive a derived reality (like space) from the idea of the Divine duration. Thus considered, objective "time" may be regarded as more than the abstract

succession of all succeeding things, namely, the *duration* of the mutual exclusions of all succeeding things. When, therefore, there is no succession, there is no "time"; and time need not be infinite, for it is quite conceivable that succession may come to an end, as religion tells us it will. Duration, on the other hand (which may be conceived but cannot be imagined), is seen to be necessarily infinite by any theist as an attribute of God.

Mr. Spencer then (p. 211, § 328) proceeds to defend his position against Kantists, who might maintain that the consciousness of time is given along with the first sequence experienced, which cannot otherwise be known as a sequence. He replies that "it is not at first known as a sequence; and that the full consciousness of it as a sequence, and of time as its form, arise through the same accumulated experiences." He illustrates his conception by colour, saying no two experiences of red would give the idea of red, but it needs multitudinous successions of red and of other colours to give rise to the perception red; and adds, that by the experience of multitudinous "like and unlike sounds, tastes, smells, resistances, temperatures, &c., the relationships which we signify by these words, like and unlike, will become partially separable in thought from particular impressions: the ideas of *likeness* and *unlikeness* will begin to arise," and will grow in distinctness with multiplicity of impressions. So, he tells us, and only so, can "arise that abstract notion of *relativity of position* among successive states of consciousness which constitutes the notion of their several places in time, and that abstract notion of *aggregated relative positions* which constitute the notion of time in general." "Abstract," but what abstracts? If Mr. Spencer concedes the existence of the active synthetic intellect, it is all reasonable enough. But without this,—and, of course, this he utterly denies,—how can any repetition of sensations in any complexity and reiteration be a perception of likeness, time, or anything else? Let us first consider a single sensation. This is fleeting in the extreme; it can, of course, never grow into a consciousness. Let us take a series of such, and let them arouse, no matter how, many faint reverberations of similar and definitive series in all degrees of complexity. Unless there is a persistent consciousness which can string them together, can perceive antecedents to be antecedent, and consequents to be consequent, and do this simultaneously, holding together antecedent and consequent in one synthesis, there can only be a succession of states; there cannot be a perception of their succession. The more thoroughly this is looked in the face and meditated on, the

more clearly this impossibility will be seen. No doubt multitudinous sense-impressions are needed to arouse the intellect; but it is as necessary that the intellect should be there to be aroused.

In the next paragraph (p. 213, § 339) the author considers the relation of nervous structure to consciousness of time, adverting to § 91, which we considered before. But as it is not here admitted that brutes have any consciousness of time—a question not necessary for the main argument—no contention need be raised. As to man, it is no doubt true that our appreciation of time is related to memory of events, and, therefore, to nervous conditions. Still, exceptions may be taken to one of his remarks. He says (p. 214), "The power to estimate an interval of hours or days depends on the power to represent the events that have occurred during its lapse." Now, this is a valuable passage, as showing how Mr. Spencer ignores the intellect, merging it in the imagination. No doubt our power of imagining such intervals is as he represents, but our power of "estimating" is very different. This is shown by astronomical calculations which have little enough to do with the reproduction in mental pictures of past events. This consideration I think shows how the imaginative conditions are the merest pegs on which we may hang our intellectual perceptions of the relations of the successions of objects and events.

Lastly (p. 215, § 340), Mr. Spencer observes that the perception of time passes very nearly into conception, and "that it consists in the classing of the relation of several positions contemplated as forming it, with certain before-known relations—the cognition of it as like such before-known relations." After what has been before said, further remark may seem here superfluous. But a protest must at least be recorded against the expression "consists in," though such perception may be "arrived at" by such a "classing."

CHAPTER XVI.—THE PERCEPTION OF MOTION.

This chapter consists of the following sections: § 341. Motion, in a nascent intelligence, would consist in muscular sensations only. § 342. How are the germinal ideas of space, time, and motion developed? § 343. Simultaneously; by the establishment of equivalence between series of successive and co-existent sensations of touch and series of successive muscular impressions. § 344. Which establishment is accompanied by the evolution of the organized body and its nervous system: § 345, and must result in the establishment of connexion

between muscular series in general, and sequent and co-existent positions in general, respectively. The simultaneous presentment of impressions from a skin area gives the idea of the body's superficial extension, and sight dissociates motion from the muscular sensation which revealed it. § 346. Thus motion discloses space and time. Its perception consists in establishing a relation of simultaneity between a relation of co-existent positions, and one of sequent positions, and in the act of perception, their jointly presented relations are generally assimilated to like relations before known.

In treating of the perception of motion, Mr. Spencer commences (p. 216, § 341) by reminding the reader of the intimate connexion which exists between the ideas of motion, time, and space, adding that, though the "consciousness of motion" cannot be formed by the "developed mind" without an accompanying consciousness of space and time, it may be otherwise with the "undeveloped mind." But what can be meant by his expression, "the consciousness of motion in the undeveloped mind?" We cannot be "conscious" of motion without having the "idea" motion, and that is the very thing the existence of which has to be accounted for. Here we have another example of what we so often find in Mr. Spencer; namely, the quiet introduction and assumption of the existence of that, the genesis of which he professes to account for. This, however, is not peculiar to Mr. Spencer, but is common to all sensists, and is the inevitable result of their profoundly irrational position. By "the consciousness of motion in the undeveloped mind" Mr. Spencer must really mean the presence of those sensations arising from motion, which, by their accumulation, may produce in brutes a resulting feeling thus related to motion, and which elicit from the human intellect an act of perception, as the electric spark suddenly transforms hydrogen and oxygen into water, or as the contact of the spermatozoon, or pollen-tube, initiates the series of changes which result in a new animal or plant. He goes on:—"It does not follow that because the connexion between the notions" space, time, and motion, "is now indissoluble, it was always so." . . . "Do we not know that the form of a house is comprehended by the child after a manner in which the infant cannot comprehend it?" &c. . . . "On grasping an apple, we cannot, without great difficulty, so confine our consciousness to the sensation of touch as to avoid thinking of the apple as spherical." But no one denies the power of association between sensations which we, in common with other sentient organisms, possess. Moreover, in grasping an apple we fulfil the conditions necessary for eliciting a perception of solidity, rotundity, &c.; no wonder

then that we spontaneously perceive those qualities. But we can, for all that, attend to selected sensations, and see that they do exist, also that some of them may co-exist with bodies neither solid nor spherical, while certain others cannot. As to the house, the rising sun, sound, heat, &c., his examples are not to the point. No one denies but that fuller knowledge may improve our conceptions, or substitute accurate for erroneous ones. But such a change does not, in the least, enable us to bridge the abyss which yawns between "a conception," however imperfect, and no conception at all. The transition, as we shall shortly see, which Mr. Spencer proposes to make from motion to space and time, is really a transition from no conception to highly abstract ones. He tells us that it has become impossible for the developed intelligence to think of motion as the undeveloped intelligence thought of it, and adds:—"It is a vicious assumption that what are necessities of thought to us are necessities of thought in the abstract." I have earlier treated of the question of our perception of necessary truth, and distinguished between a mere *negative* impotence to imagine that, the elements of which have never been experienced by us, and a *positive* perception of universal and necessary truth. Now our perception that it is impossible for any one to conceive the notion of any object without having the ideas space and time is not an impotence but a perception of positive *necessity*. If we cannot be sure of truths of this order, if we cannot, *e.g.*, be sure that nothing can both be and not be at the same time and in the same sense, then we fall into utter scepticism, and have no warrant for believing not only Mr. Spencer's arguments but the fact that they have even been advanced.

But what is the supposed primordial form of motion "different from that in which we know it?" It is *muscular sensation*. He says: "I find no difficulty in so far isolating these sensations as to perceive that the consciousness of them would remain were my notions of space and time abolished." This is a very remarkable assertion; for certainly the muscular feelings which accompany bodily motion have not been experienced, in fact or imagination, either by Mr. Spencer or by any human or non-human ancestors, without the presence in fact or imagination of bodily motion itself. He adds: "And I find no difficulty in conceiving that motion is thinkable by a nascent intelligence as consisting of these sensations, while yet the notions of space and time are undeveloped." What does this really mean? Is the "nascent intelligence" intelligent or not intelligent? If the latter, then it will have the muscular sensations, but it will not *think* them at all. If the

former, then it will think them, but it will think them as what they are, "sensations," psychical modifications, felt as "sensations" perceived as "facts." Mr. Spencer will reply, It cannot think them *as* sensations, for, having had no other experience but muscular sensations, it cannot discriminate them from anything else. I reply, Such an "intelligence" is improperly so called, for it could not "think" at all, and it has, in fact, had no "experience" whatever; for until there is a consciousness which can connect sequent and unsequent in one intelligent synthesis, there is no element of experience in the only available sense of the term. To call the successive blows of an axe, by which a tree is felled, that tree's "experience" is an abuse of language.

Mr. Spencer concludes: "Seeing, then, that the primitive consciousness of motion may readily be conceived to have contained but one of the elements ultimately included in it, we may properly inquire whether, out of such a primitive consciousness of motion the consciousness we have of it may be evolved." Surely such a "consciousness of motion" must be a "consciousness of what is *not* motion." If the notion were one of those which Mr. Spencer disliked, he would say, "the proposition is not even thinkable," which would be most strictly true.

He then (p. 218, § 342) proceeds to follow up the inquiry he has just before suggested and, referring to the two preceding chapters, asserts that the germinal element of our consciousness of space is equivalent to the relation of co-existent positions between the parts of the body when adjusted by the muscles to a particular attitude; that that of time is a relation of position between two states of consciousness estimated by the number of remembered intervening states. As to motion (which is, according to him, the only original occasion of changes in consciousness, and only revealer of relations of position among successive states of consciousness; and, therefore, the only discloser of relations of position among co-existences), it is knowable through the changes of consciousness it produces.

Subjective motion is as a varying series of sensations of muscular tension; objective is as a continuous series of sensations on the skin or retina; both objective and subjective together are as a double series of sensations, muscular and tactual, or muscular and visual, or all three. "How do we become cognizant of the relative positions as two points on the surface of the body; which, as co-existent, involve space, as disclosed by two successive tactual impressions, involve time; and by self-produced muscular sensations, separating such

impressions, involve motion? How are they developed?" This question, he proceeds (p. 220, § 343) to answer by, in the first place, referring to the antecedent sections (§§ 327 and 331) as helping to show "how serial states of consciousness are consolidated into simultaneous states which become their equivalents." He then imagines a lowly animal with two given points on its body within reach of the limbs, which if moved touching nothing, it will have one indefinite muscular sensation of a series of insensibly waxing and waning degrees of contraction—a nascent consciousness. If the limb touches something, and then withdraws, there is a sudden change, beginning and ending incisively—a *mark* in consciousness. These multiplied, may be compared, as to their strengths and positions, and the feelings of muscular tension become comparable as divided into lengths by such marks. The marks and tensions may concur, as in a limb drawn over a surface; or may co-exist with tactual sensations also, as when drawn over the body itself. The repetitions associate these sensations and motions indissolubly—though the tactual sensation can be dissociated, through production by foreign bodies; and the touch-sensation by withdrawal of the body from the moving limb. Therefore, the two series of tactual and muscular sensations serve as equivalents, and as two sides of the same experience suggest each other in consequence. "*The successive feelings on the skin being excited, association brings up ideas of the habitually correlated feelings in the limbs; and the feelings in the limbs being excited, association brings up ideas of the habitually correlated feelings on the skin.*" If something touches simultaneously the whole surface previously traversed, its nerves are excited simultaneously, otherwise successively; and as these two groups of feelings are each found equivalent to the accompanying muscular feelings, the two groups are found mutually equivalent. "A series of muscular sensations becomes known as corresponding to a series of co-existent positions; and being habitually joined with it, becomes at last unthinkable without it." Thus the relation of the co-existent positions (and by implication all intermediate points) "is necessarily disclosed by a comparison of experiences; the ideas of space, time, and motion are evolved together. When the successive states of consciousness are thought of as having relative positions, the notion of time becomes nascent. When these states of consciousness occur simultaneously, their relative positions, which were before sequent, become co-existent; and there arises a nascent consciousness of space. And when these two relations of co-existent and sequent positions are both presented to consciousness, along with a series of sensations of muscular

tension, a nascent idea of motion results." These nascent ideas are developed by countless reiterations, accumulations, and comparisons in every available direction. This is a very ingenious speculation, and may be available to explain the genesis in brutes of feelings related to extension, succession, and motion respectively. It is idle as an explanation of ideas (and certainly of the fundamental and primitive idea, "motion"), owing to the radical vice which pervades all the writings of sensists in that they do not understand what perception is. Controversy therefore—and the objection to the use of such terms as "contemplation," "comparison," &c., may as well be here (as before) postponed till we come to consider "perception in general."

Mr. Spencer next (p. 225, § 344) proceeds to answer a supposed opponent who objects that "the explanation is begged when the pre-existence of such structures is taken for granted." He replies, that organic genesis is carried on by reciprocal aid, yet that absorption must precede circulation, and circulation respiration, and that all that is necessary to complete his representation is to suppose that "the triple consciousness of motion, time, and space" accompanies bodily evolution in bulk, limb-structure, and nervous apparatus; "the perpetual converse of the organism with its environment, and of its parts with one another by mutual explorations, as building up this triple consciousness, element by element; as the nervous system itself is built up, fibre by fibre, and cell by cell."

Certain corollaries are then glanced at. He says (p. 229, § 345,) besides associations between *particular* muscular and tactual series, there must be a more decided association "between muscular series in general and series of sequent and co-existent positions in general; since this connexion is repeated in every one of the particular experiences." Again, when an object is placed on the skin, the resulting impressions "occupy co-existent positions before consciousness, producing an idea of the superficial extension of that part of the body." The idea of this extension is really nothing more than a simultaneous presentation of all the impressions proceeding from the various points it includes, which have previously had their several relative positions measured by means of the series of impressions separating them." Against this dogmatic assertion I must, in passing, enter my protest, reserving its treatment, however, till the 18th chapter. He concludes by saying that visual experiences being added, serve to establish "in our minds the identity of subjective and objective motion" and so enable us almost entirely "to dissociate motion from those muscular sensations through which it is primarily known to

us." By thus reducing "our idea of motion to that of co-existent positions in space occupied in successive positions in time," sight "produces the apparently necessary connexion between these three ideas."

In the final section (p. 230, § 346) our author ends by concluding that "the consciousness of motion . . . serves by its union with tactual experiences to disclose time and space," and so becomes clothed with, and inconceivable without these ideas. Perception of motion "consists in the establishment in consciousness of a relation of simultaneity between relations of co-existent spatial and sequent time-positions, accompanied necessarily by the consciousness of a something that occupies these positions. In the act of perception, he tells us, these jointly presented relations are severally assimilated to the like relations before known. Provisionally, I confine myself to remarking that the intuition of motion may be elicited through sensations of relation established as supposed, but that it certainly does not *consist* of such.

CHAPTER XVII.—THE PERCEPTION OF RESISTANCE.

The contents of this chapter may be summarised as follows :

§ 347. Of all the impressions received by consciousness, that of resistance is the most general, primordial, universal, and persistent, both in the individual and in ancestral races. § 349. The conceptions matter, space, motion, and force are arrived at by generalisation and abstraction from our experiences of resistance. § 349. All our sensations from the external world are interpretable into it, but it is interpretable into nothing else. § 350. In revealing resistance to us, muscular tension is primary, and pressure secondary. This must be so, because the external world is learnt by animals' activities, using this tension as their measure, and this, therefore, is the raw material of intelligence. § 351. Perception of muscular tension consists in the establishment of a relation between the muscular sensations and will. In the act of perception this relation is classed with the like before-known relations.

In the beginning of this chapter Mr. Spencer tells us (p. 232, § 347) that we may conclude *à priori* that there must be some fundamental impression of consciousness, and asserts it to be resistance, which is primordial, universal, and ever-present. It may be objected, however, that in moving a limb without touching anything we have not the experience of resistance, and certainly such a motion is conceivable as an initial experience, in which case a muscular feeling, apart from any sense of resistance, would be primordial. More than this, if the limbs did come in contact with anything, if that contact was gentle

it would not yield any notion of resistance. Strange to say, both these truths are admitted expressly by our author himself. He tells us (p. 243), "that the muscular sensation alone does not constitute a perception of resistance will be seen on remembering that we receive from a tired muscle a feeling nearly allied to, if not identical with, that which we receive from a muscle in action; and yet this feeling . . . does not give any notion of resistance." As to touch, he says (p. 239), "The sensation of touch proper does not in itself give an immediate knowledge of resistance. . . . When the contact is so gentle as to produce no feeling of pressure, it cannot be said whether the object is soft or hard, large or small." Evidently, then, the impression of resistance is not primary, but both an indescribable muscular feeling and pure touch are each anterior to it.

He then tells us (p. 233, § 348) that our perception of body has for its ultimate elements—primarily, resistance; secondarily, extension; the latter being known only through a combination of resistances. I purposely pass by here any objection as to our intuition of substance, and material substance. He declares, "a thing cannot be thought of as occupying space, except as offering resistance." But our soul has been and is thought of as occupying the whole body, in so far as it is whole and entire, in every portion of it. Yet no one ever yet thought of the soul as offering resistance to a lancet or a sword-thrust. He adds: "Even though but a point, if it be conceived to offer absolutely *no* resistance, it ceases to be anything—becomes *no* thing." Here is an ambiguity of expression, showing the need of a precise and definite philosophical nomenclature and terminology. No doubt Mr. Spencer means (as he is speaking of things "thought of as occupying space") to refer only to minute solid bodies; and no doubt, if an apparently solid body proved to offer no resistance, we should say it was *not* a solid body. But that would not make it "*no*-thing." Let us imagine an apparently solid spectral appearance seated in a chair before us (whether the result of cerebral hallucination, some optical contrivance, or some preternatural agency). If we get up, and find we can sit down in the visibly occupied chair just as if no such appearance was present, does that prove the spectre to be "*no*-thing?" Is a bad intention or is a musical idea "*no*-thing?" Evidently with Mr. Spencer the word thing denotes "solid body," and unites extension and resistance; but that is using the word "thing" in an unwarrantably restricted meaning. What word would he employ as applicable to the totality of beings, material and immaterial?

Next he proceeds to contend (p. 234) that our "cognition of

space can arise only through our interpretation of resistances ;" but space is to be apprehended merely from a variously coloured surface. Granted that it cannot be so apprehended save by minute motions and infinitesimal resistances, yet such are quite unperceived by us even when we seek by attention to perceive them. For Mr. Spencer's argument it is necessary to show that the conception (psychosis) "space" is made up of multitudes of feelings (psychoses) of "resistance ;" but as the psychosis—space—is derived from sight only, there are no psychoses—"resistance"—whatever. Real objective resistances are nothing to the point ; we are not engaged in physiological study but in Psychology.

Again, as to motion, he tells us (p. 235) that it was shown in the last chapter that "subjective motion is primarily known as a varying series of states of muscular tension, that is,—sensations of resistance." But as we have just seen, such states are not, and are not equivalent to, sensations of resistance. He goes on : "the series of tactual sensations through which it is also known when one part of the body is drawn over another, are sensations produced by something that resists." Here we have again the confusion of objective with subjective : sensations produced by something that resists are not necessarily sensations of resistance ; and, as we have seen, Mr. Spencer expressly says both touch and muscular sensations can co-exist without the sensation of resistance. I deny these feelings of resistance are necessary to generate the conception motion. Sight and touch combined, may, without any feeling of resistance whatever, generate the conception.

Next as to force, he tells us, on the same page, its genesis is parallel. "Resistance, as known subjectively in our sensations of muscular tension, forms the substance of our consciousness of force." This, however, is questionable. The force of volition is certainly an accompaniment of our consciousness of our own force, as Mr. Spencer of course admits and affirms. Some persons of no mean metaphysical ability consider it the substance of our conception of such force. Mr. Spencer adds, "that we have such a consciousness is a fact which no metaphysical quibbling can set aside." This is true enough, but it is no less true that such quibbling can as little set aside our consciousness of the Ego ; the permanent perceiver of changing forces, and the emitter of the only force primarily known by us, and always the most distinctly known of all, the only one which no metaphysician questions. He continues : "That we must think of force in terms of our experience is also beyond question ; therefore our notion of force is a generalisation of muscular sensations." This is one form of an error constantly

reappearing in sensist writings. Because an intellectual intuition may not be describable by us, save in terms of those feelings through which it is elicited, it is taken to be nothing but a generalisation of such feelings themselves, although by our intellect it may be clearly seen to be something very different. Those who, like most men, see this difference, cannot help believing that the men of the sensist school voluntarily, though unconsciously, blind themselves to the declarations of their own intellect through desire to support a particular theory. They believe so, because it is impossible to believe that the intellects of the sensists do not generate for them intellectual intuitions out of feeling, as those of other men do.

Mr. Spencer adds: "Every one experiences the same sensible effects when body strikes against him, as when he strikes against body. Hence he is obliged to represent to himself the action of body upon him as like his action upon it." Therefore, "he cannot conceive its action without vaguely thinking of this muscular tension . . . as the antecedent to its action." Very reluctantly, I write after this passage, the word nonsense. Very reluctantly, for I have great esteem for Mr. Spencer and great respect for his vast intellectual powers. But Homer sometimes nods; and, therefore, in saying that such a remark is nonsense, I no more mean to depreciate him than I mean so to do when I say, as I have said before, and shall have to say again, that he has not the faintest conception what virtue is. To say this, is not to say he is not a most excellent and virtuous man. He has doubtless practised virtue all his life, as Monsieur Jourdain spoke prose; and the same must be affirmed as to his intellectual activity.

In the next section (p. 236, §349), he further seeks to explain other conceptions by feelings of resistance, or mechanical force, and to show that the latter are interpretable into nothing else. He begins by speaking of secondary qualities, which he says, as energies of matter, must be thought of in terms of muscular tension. But surely when we think of the colour of the rose or the smell of the violet, we have no conception or feeling of "muscular tension" as in those natural products.

He then considers mechanical resistance, and asks: "Why can we not represent to ourselves the force with which a body resists an effort to move it, as a something quite unlike the feeling of muscular tension which constitutes the effort?" Why, indeed. For my part I not only *can* do this, but I always *do* so. Mr. Spencer, however, affirms dogmatically: "There exists no alternative mode of representing this force to consciousness." Here he omits all reference to will!

Now I admit fully that force becomes known to us partly through the sense of effort and resistance overcome, which attends our muscular activity, and partly through the exercise of will, as perceived in exerting our voluntary mental activity; force of mind being a term of familiar use, as well as force of arm. These sensations are then the occasions through which and by which our intellect comes to perceive that surrounding bodies have powers corresponding to our own. We do not in fact, however, on this account, attribute to surrounding bodies activities such as our own, but only activities having a certain analogy with ours. If we try to pull a man up from the ground against his will, and fail from his being more muscular than we are, and if we try to pull up a stone from the ground, and fail from its being too heavy to lift, we do not attribute muscular activity to the stone, or to the earth, which by gravity retains it; but we perceive a certain relation of analogy between the pulling activity of the man and the pulling activity of the earth, and these, through our own sensations and conscious will, are the sole materials by means of which our intellect has the power of seizing those two very different perceptions—brute force and muscular activity.

In the context he makes another remark which deserves a passing notice. He says (p. 238): "The liberty we have to think of light, heat, sound, &c., as in themselves different from our sensations of them, is due to our possession of other sensations by which to symbolize them; namely, those of mechanical force . . . that is, in terms of our muscular sensations." So then, after all, those who think they have got far ahead of the vulgar, inasmuch as they have come to think of objective colour, odour, &c., as molecular oscillations, instead of in terms of the sensations they produce, are not, after all, one bit nearer the truth than the clodhopper himself! muscular sensations must be, at least, as unlike the objective cause of our feelings of colour and smell as are the causes more spontaneously assigned. By abandoning our natural belief as to so-called secondary qualities, we do not really explain them a bit more, or get the least nearer to objective truth. Such natural belief cannot at least be proved false, while, to think of them as caused by muscular tensions is a manifest absurdity. Another consideration here suggests itself: Just as we come to recognise in this connexion the real futility of seeking to explain objective colour and odour by mechanical force, so we may now recognise the futility of seeking so to explain life processes, and above all sensation and consciousness.

Mr. Spencer's argument is, that resistance, motion, and
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mechanical force, being our fundamental experiences, we can reduce later experiences to the terms of the earlier ones, but not *vice versâ*. But he does not even pretend that such experiences make known real objectivity any more than later ones. Our tendency to reduce other phenomena to mechanical phenomena is, according to his showing, the mere consequence of our impotence and circumstances. The notion, therefore, that we get any deeper into the real nature of vital and other activities by representing them in terms of mechanical force, molecular conditions, &c., is, according to Mr. Spencer's showing, manifestly a delusion. Whatever error there may be in the basis of this representation, its conclusion is certainly correct. Reason does not tell us either that "resistance" or "motion" is really the one ultimate, universal, and fundamental power or activity, any more than—rather much less than—"intelligence" or "will," which are equally primary in our conscious adult experience. It may be convenient for various reasons so to express phenomena as to bring them within the reach of mathematical calculation, but it should always be recollected that so to express them is in one way to explain them, and there is much reason for thinking it actually distorts and misrepresents them. He concludes the paragraph thus:—"Though the proposition that objective force differs in nature from force as we know it subjectively, is verbally intelligible; and though the supposition that the two are alike commits us to absurdities that cannot be entertained; yet to frame a conception of force in the *non-Ego* different from the conception we have of force in the *Ego* is utterly beyond our power." Now, in the first place, if a proposition is verbally intelligible it is intelligent enough, if by the expression be meant, not that each word taken by itself is intelligible (which might be the case with nonsense verses), but that the proposition itself is so; and surely the proposition "objective force is a thing different in nature from the force we experience in ourselves" is a proposition intelligible as a proposition. The subject "objective force," and the predicate "a thing different in nature from the force we experience in ourselves," are both intelligible, and there can be no doubt about the intelligibility of the copula. What Mr. Spencer means, no doubt, is, that neither the subject nor the predicate is *imaginable*. To express his meaning correctly, he should have said "to *imagine* a force in the *non-Ego* different from the imagination we have of the force in the *Ego* is beyond our power." This would be true, but in no way to the point; it would not aid to explain the perception in the way he seeks to explain it.

In the next section (p. 239, § 350) he contends that in our

perception of resistance, muscular tension is primary and pressure secondary, and that this must be so because the external world impresses itself on sentient beings only through their activities; and therefore, that their muscular tensions are their only means of estimating external nature, and form the raw material of their intelligence. I have no need to contest what is here advanced, but must make one passing remark. He tells us that "the perception of resistance" is the one perception "into which all other perceptions are interpretable." And he says this absolutely, without qualification of any kind. According to this, feelings of resistance are the constituents and foundation of the perception of the moral beauty of an action, which seems the *reductio ad absurdum* of this mode of explaining mental acts by going back to root-sensations. No chemical or mechanical facts, laws, analysis, or hypothesis, will ever adequately explain a marble Venus, though such an object could not exist without the preconcurrence of a multitude of physical and chemical facts and laws.

Lastly (p. 242, § 251), and indeed very late in the day, and in but a small fragment of the space occupied with the consideration of our perception of resistance, Mr. Spencer adverts to the "will" as entering therein. The "will" he of course represents as a nonentity,—as the oversetting of an unstable balance, which has been temporarily maintained between competing attractions. According to this view, there can be no "act of will" at all, the only "actions" can be those of the attracting influences. He says expressly, "the unbalanced surplus of feeling, of whatever kind . . . constitutes the will." His description applies well enough, perhaps, to that which in brutes simulates the volition of man, and no doubt volition *in this sense* (the power of responding by appropriate actions to pleasurable and painful sensations and emotions) is the necessary antecedent to sense-perception. If so, we may see how no perfection or complication of merely vegetable organisms could ever enable them to have such perceptions, which is a privilege resulting from and conjoined with that prerogative of voluntary motion which animals alone exhibit.

In this whole chapter Mr. Spencer only considers such sense-perception of resistance as we may conceive to exist in animals. Our perception of resistance in the abstract, or of a resisting object as resisting or as an impediment—a perception which is so very different and so much higher—he leaves entirely unnoticed.

M.

ART. VIII.—PRE-HOMERIC LEGENDS OF THE VOYAGE OF THE ARGONAUTS.

VERY many centuries before the dawn of history a band of noble youths who called themselves the *Minyæ*, in Thessaly, entered into a solemn league and compact to visit and explore the abode of the great Sun-god in the far East. Their knowledge of astronomy was undoubtedly weak; but their enthusiasm was strong, and their courage was not damped by any apparently insuperable obstacles to the success of such an expedition. They had the evidence of their senses that the Sun-god moved, and therefore lived. Every day he rose out of the Eastern sea, climbed to the summit of the heavenly vault, and disappeared in the far West. If they could but reach the horizon, the wall, as it were, of that great arch that spanned the flat and immovable world, they must there find some means of solving the great secret, how and whence did he come forth, how and whither did he sink to repose.

Nevertheless, the boldest of them must have felt that to get very near to that grand and awful ball of fire—to touch it, measure it, bring away some trophy of it, was an adventure of much danger and very uncertain result!* Nothing but a voyage to the far East, and over the unknown seas and lands where the sun appeared to them to rise, could solve the problem. Like Columbus and his voyage of discovery across the western ocean, they had a conviction that they must get *somewhere* to an unexplored land, however far that somewhere lay to the East. So they agreed to sail. And this, briefly expressed, seems the probable origin of that most celebrated and interesting tale of antiquity, the voyage of Jason and his companions in the good ship *Argo* in search of the Golden Fleece.

I do not, of course, for a moment say or believe that it is history, or contains any historical truth whatever. I only offer this explanation to account for the existence of the myth. For history proper deals only with dates and with real persons; and when we can say nothing more of a given story (like that of the Trojan war) than that it may or may not describe a real incident, we are on the confines of fable, and can only speculate on possibilities. We have the narrative at length in the poem

* Diodorus Siculus, in describing the motives of the expedition (iv. 40), remarks that Jason viewed the exploit of winning the Golden Fleece as "difficult indeed of attainment, yet not altogether impossible."

entitled "Argonautica," by Apollonius Rhodius, who lived and wrote in the time of the Ptolemies (about B.C. 200). We have it also in the eight books, bearing the same title, by the late Roman poet, Valerius Flaccus. But these men only reproduced in a later form ballads which, as we shall show, were familiar to Pindar and the tragic poets, and even to the author of the "Odyssey."

It is one of the most singular properties of Myths that they have a tendency to reappear, almost or quite unchanged, even in their most grotesque details, however late may be the particular composition in which they are embodied. Thus it is that what some regard as silly nursery stories, Cinderella or Jack and the Bean Stalk, will generally be found to have a far greater antiquity and a much wider prevalence than most persons would suppose. So, too, it is that a very late epic poet, like Quintus Smyrnaeus, who lived some centuries after the Christian era, has preserved a great deal of matter known to and used by the tragic poets more than four centuries before it. Let not therefore any one suppose that because Apollonius Rhodius lived and wrote only about two centuries before that era, therefore his poem carries no weight or authority as a legend of genuine antiquity. It is the object of this paper to show that the contrary is the case.

Possibly it will be objected that the solar interpretation of the story is strained and unnatural. A golden fleece *may* have meant a rude method of collecting gold particles from running streams. These adventurers may, after all, have only desired to go to certain far-off "diggings," the reputation of which had reached them from the reports of merchants or travellers. They may have gone in search of a breed of sheep with wool of a naturally yellowish tint, like that of the Spanish sheep, so much prized by the Romans;* or, lastly, they may have been Phœnician adventurers, influenced solely by a wish to extend their commerce.

It is desirable, therefore, at the outset, to show that the sun is generally symbolised by a fiery cloud, or golden fleece, as the mantle of glory and majesty in which the god is wrapped. *Amictus lumine sicut vestimento* is the description that the Psalmist gives to the Divine Being himself.† The ægis of Pallas, the goddess of the Dawn, is in the same manner the fringed cloud that arrays in spangled light the *Aurora* of the Greek Mythology.‡ It was represented in ancient art, as may

* Martial, Ep. v. 37, 7; xiv. 133.

† Psalm ciii. 2.

‡ *Aurora* is said to be the same word as *Ἑως* or *Ἥως*, "Morning," and perhaps with *ἥλιος*, *ἥλιος*, "the Sun." (Curtius, "Greek Etymology," i. 402.)

be seen on many of the early Greek vases, as a fringed goat-skin, the root of the word, which implies "rushing motion," being confounded with αἴξ, "a goat." We read in Homer* of the golden tassels or fringes surrounding it, and Herodotus tells us† that the dress of the goddess was derived from the stained goat-skins (apparently closely akin to what we still call Morocco leather) worn by Libyan women. This shows that he had not the least suspicion of the true origin of the symbol, as a solar "glory." Even in early Christian art the oval nimbus, or aureole, enveloping the whole form of the Blessed Virgin, may be referred to the same traditional idea. The edges of the goat-skins were cut in strips and curled to imitate snakes' heads, and this, which at first merely represented the ragged edges of a cloud, was designed to add terror to the form of the dread war-goddess.

So naturally is the idea of a cloud associated with that of a fleece, that Virgil describes the absence of *cirri*, or what we ourselves call "light fleecy clouds," as a sign of the approach of fine weather,—

Tenuia nec lanæ per cælum vellera ferri.†

But other proofs are not wanting that this interpretation of the "Golden Fleece" is the true one. We read in Sophocles§ that the wife of Hercules, jealous of her husband's supposed attachment to a younger woman, sent him, under the guise of a costly sacrificial robe, a garment smeared with some phosphoric preparation. It is to be noted that the poison itself was laid on with a piece of wool, and that the wool first caught fire and was consumed.|| No sooner had he thrown the mantle round him, and approached the fire of the altar, than it burst into flame, and so nearly destroyed him that he implored his own son to finish his pains by burning him on a pyre upon Mount Cæta. A nearly identical story is told of Medea, who, enraged at Jason's desertion of her for a royal bride, sent by her own children a robe and a golden coronet as a present to the princess. Here, too, the gift proved a fatal one, for not only the bride herself, but her aged father, who ran to her assistance, miserably perished by the fiery robe cleaving to their flesh.¶

Now the evidence furnished by these several legends must be regarded as complete, when we consider that Hercules was the Sun-god; that his dying on the pyre obviously symbolises the Sun sinking in flames behind a hill; that Medea was the grand-daughter of the Sun, and that the fiery robe had been

* "Iliad," ii. 448.
§ "Trachiniae," 602.

† Lib. iv. 189.
|| Ibid. 696.

† "Georgic," i. 397.
¶ Euripides, "Medea," 1215.

bequeathed by the Sun-god himself to his descendants.* Nor can we doubt that the gilt chaplet which adhered to the brow of the bride, like red-hot iron, is nothing more than a symbol of the round and glowing orb of the sun itself.

Thus far, then, we seem to have made out a clear case for the right explanation of the Argonautic legend. An expedition to bring home the golden fleece was an attempt—not either a very absurd or a very unnatural one in such remote ages, when the only knowledge was obtained through the senses—to get close enough to the rising sun to find out his true nature. The question of his real size was not, perhaps, entertained by them seriously, if at all. And, it is here important to observe, that even so advanced a thinker as Lucretius gravely teaches that the sun and moon cannot be very much larger than their apparent size.† Whenever, he argues, the outline of a fire seen by us on earth can be clearly defined, and is not a mere indistinct glow or flickering light, the distance cannot be sufficiently great to affect the size of it very seriously. Therefore, as the *filum solis*, the circular outline of the sun, seems clear and sharp, it cannot be so far remote as greatly to be diminished from its actual bulk by its distance from our eyes. The accumulated knowledge which enables us now to state with certainty that the diameter of the sun is very nearly nine hundred thousand miles,‡ and its distance from us about ninety-three millions, is certainly a marvellous advance on all such primitive and purely sensuous ideas!

There are some persons who read with utter incredulity the attempts of learned men to show that many of the legends of classical antiquity—even the Achilles and the Ulysses of Homer—may be readily explained by the ideas and the symbolism of a primitive sun-worship. They revolt from the theory as from a form of rationalism; and *that*, they are quite convinced, whatever be the subject to which it is applied, must be something dangerous, if not positively wrong. In fact, they will hardly listen to the expounders of the theory, however good their claims to a fair hearing. “Everything,” they object, “was the sun, according to your view.” And the reply is not an irrational one: “Yes, everything *was* the sun, at a time and in a nation where the all-powerful and beneficent giver of light and heat engaged all the prayers and all the aspirations of the human race.”§ With more reason we might ask, What

* “Medea,” 95b.

† “Lucretius,” v. 565, 576.

‡ 886,887 miles, according to Mrs. Somerville, writing as long ago as 1849 (“Connexion of the Physical Sciences,” p. 64).

§ The Indian Rig-Vedas are filled with these notions of living elemental powers. The possible extinction of the sun (i.e. the voluntary withdrawal

possible explanation can be given to such stories as Sisyphus rolling a round stone uphill only to fall back again; or of Tantalus, now fearing lest a hanging rock should fall on his head, now standing up to his chin in water which evaded all his efforts to drink it;—what symbolism can they embody if they are *not* stories about the sun? His apparent descent into the nether world, and his daily reappearance in renewed vigour from out of the Eastern sea, where he reddened all things with his light,* gave rise to the stories of penal tasks imposed in Hades for crimes committed in this life.

Again, the narrative in the "Odyssey" about Cyclops, and the blinding of his one eye, is either a very silly and impossible story, or it is a myth not inappropriately describing the extinction of the sun, the eye of day, in the "forehead of the sky," as Milton calls it. If Ulysses himself meant, as the name will allow him to mean, the "setting sun," the interpretation is as simple as possible; the setting of the sun puts out, or removes from sight, the orb that is the eye of the world—that far-ranging power to whom poets naturally and spontaneously attribute the faculty of sight. But you will convince very few persons, if you propound such a view, reasonable as it is and perfectly consistent in itself. Not less evident is it that the numerous and varied stories of the descent of heroes into the nether world in quest of some departed friend, whom they brought back to life, like Orpheus, who went to recover his Eurydice, are founded on the apparent sinking of the sun below the horizon and his speedy return to the surface of the world. Nothing, we say, can be more clear than this; and those who cannot accept such an interpretation cannot have gone far into the history of primitive thought. If there is one fact more certain than another in the records and monuments of the ancient world, it is the wide prevalence of sun-worship. Therefore, there is the strongest antecedent probability that many of the primitive myths symbolise sun-worship too.

The fleece in quest of which Jason and his crew made their adventurous voyage to the Pontus, is not, of course, in the legend itself represented as the sun. It is peculiar to all solar myths to treat the subjects of them as *real* heroes. The authors of the stories were always quite unconscious that the heroes themselves are but representatives of the elemental power

of his light) was the one object of their superstitious fears. Even the Egyptians thought their Osiris was under the malign influence of the demon Typho. Of course all these notions were greatly encouraged by occasional eclipses.

* This is the true origin of our term, "Red Sea," which was anciently applied to the Indian Ocean.

which underlies the whole narrative. Thus, to the author or authors of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," Achilles and Ulysses are mighty heroes who lived in remote ages, when man was a greater and a grander being than the men in the poet's day, οἱ τοὶ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσὶ. So with the sun-fleece; it was not a sun-fleece to Jason who went to fetch it, nor to Apollonius Rhodius who describes it; it was simply the skin of the ram that had carried Phrixus with his sister Helle* in their flight from the cruelty of their mother-in-law, the wife of Athamas. This ram had been offered up to Zeus, the God of Flight (Ζεὺς Φόβιος), on the spot where it had landed by Phrixus himself† at the command of the god Hermes.‡ Its skin had been consecrated on an oak-tree, in a sacred grove; and the description of it is very remarkable, because it shows how, even to the unconscious writer of the account, the "solar idea" is still present in the tradition. "It was like," says the poet, "to a cloud which glows with the hot rays of the rising sun." Guided by the skill and inspired by the love of the fair sorceress Medea,§ Jason enters the grove and finds the glorious prize guarded by a huge snake, which hissed so loud (ροῖζει) that the grove and even the shores of the mighty rivers Araxes, Lycus, and Phasis resounded with the horrible din.|| The monster, however, is put to sleep by her powerful incantations, and the fleece is carried off in triumph from the sacred oak. The description of Apollonius is very good, if somewhat turgid, as is the manner of the Alexandrine poets. It will be better, perhaps, to attempt a version of his words than to quote at length the twelve Greek hexameters (iv. 170—82).

Thus then did Jason joyfully hold aloft in his hands the huge fleece. On his brown cheeks and forehead a ruddy light, like a flame,

* She was said to have been drowned by falling from the back of the ram in crossing the sea which, from her fate, was afterwards called "Helle's Sea," or *Hellespont*. The story is told in Ovid's "Fasti," iii. 870, and there is a fresco-painting of the subject found at Pompeii, and long since published.

† Pindar ("Pyth.," iv. 68) calls it τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριού.

‡ Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 120. The story is given at some length by Diodorus Siculus, iv. 47.

§ Like Helen, and indeed, like the Calypso and the Circe of the "Odyssey," a divine or semi-divine character attached to these persons in a remote antiquity. The deification, so to say, of woman's influence over man, is a curious and suggestive theme; but the subject is too long and intricate to be more than mentioned here.

|| Ap. Rhod., ii. 405; iv. 130, *seq.*; Pindar, "Pyth.," iv. 254, says that the fleece was held in the jaws of a snake as long and as thick as a fifty-oared galley! The belief in enormous serpents seems to have been common in all ages, and it has survived to our own in stories about the sea-serpent.

settled from the flashing brightness of the tufts of wool. In size it nearly measured, in all directions, the hide of a yearling heifer, or a young stag. So heavy hung the wool-tufts that they covered him as with a roof; and the very earth as he walked seemed to glow beneath his feet. So he proceeded, now throwing it like a mantle over his left shoulder, so that it hung pendant to his feet, now clutching it tightly grasped and rolled into a smaller space, for much he feared lest some man or god who chanced to meet him, should deprive him of the prize.

We need not follow our hero in his return to his country with the fleece and accompanied by Medea, whose tragic story, and desertion by Jason, is the subject of the justly celebrated "Medea" of Euripides. We are anxious to pass on to a literary question of the highest interest. We shall show that between the scenes and the characters in the "Odyssey," and those in the Argonautics of Apollonius, there is a singular identity. How far the fact has hitherto been noticed by classical scholars, we are not prepared to say. But we shall show good reasons for thinking that the fact itself is highly suggestive, and deserves a working out which has never yet been assigned to it. Let us here say distinctly, that it is altogether a superficial view to assume, that because Homer lived very early and Apollonius very late, therefore Apollonius merely borrowed his story from Homer. We contend that such a fact is against all experience, and, for many reasons, very improbable in itself. It is a much sounder and more probable view, that both poems were composed independently out of older materials.

We have called the Argonautic legends "pre-Homeric." Two verses in the "Odyssey" are in themselves quite conclusive. In xii. 69-70 the poet says (speaking of the "moving rocks" through which Ulysses had to sail) that "the only ship that ever yet passed them was the far-famed *Argo* in her voyage from King *Æetes*."

οἷη δὲ κείνη γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος ναῦς
Ἄργῳ πᾶσι μέλουσα παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα.

Now, as these very same rocks (although in quite a different part of the world), these *πλαγκταὶ πέτραι*, are described both in the "Odyssey" and in the "Argonautics,"* as Scylla and Charybdis, Circe, Calypso and the Sirens, Alcinous and his queen Arete, the savage king Echetus,† are common to both poems; it is a perfectly fair question to ask, which account is really the oldest? For, as we have said, it is not enough to reply, in an off-hand way, "Of course, the late Alexandrine poet

* "Odyssey," xii. 60; Apoll. Rhod., iv. 925.

† Ὑβριστης Ἐχέρος, Apoll., iv. 1093. See "Odyssey," xviii. 85.

copied all this from the 'Odyssey,' the author of which lived at least 850 years before Christ." For if so, how is it that the *Argo* is so explicitly mentioned in the "Odyssey"? Further, while it is perfectly easy to prove that Pindar and the tragic poets in the age of Pericles had the whole story of the Argonauts, and composed many tragedies from it;* it is very difficult to prove that they knew of the "Odyssey" in the form, at least, in which we possess it. Some persons will be surprised to be told that no mention appears to be made of the nymph Calypso or of the suitors of Penelope in any genuine passage, earlier than Plato or even Aristotle. Consequently, when we find Æschylus comparing the murderess Clytemnestra to a Scylla who has her abode in the rocks to destroy sailors,† it becomes an inquiry of some importance, from which of these two sources did he obtain his knowledge? The very full account we have of the adventures of Jason and Medea in the fourth Pythian ode of Pindar, the contemporary of Æschylus, makes it quite certain that the Argonautic story was current in their time;‡ while conversely, the marked discrepancies that exist between the accounts of Æschylus and Homer of the murder of Agamemnon, and the vengeance taken by Orestes, tend to throw much uncertainty on the question, whether Æschylus knew our poem of the *Odyssey* at all.

It is a very significant circumstance also, that the epithet applied in the "Odyssey"§ to the enchantress Circe, *Aiaín*, is the same as that given in the "Argonautics."|| But *Ææa* and *Æetes* were words intimately connected with the Argonautic geography and the story of Jason; they have no direct relation to Ulysses. The word *Æa* (*Aia*), means "mainland," and it seems to have been primarily applied to the continent

* The *Hypsipyle* and *Phineus* of Æschylus, the *Colchi* (or *Colchides*), the *Lemnian Women*, the *Pelias*, the *Phineus*, the *Phrixus* of Sophocles, the *Peliades*, the *Phrixus*, and the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides. Not a few isolated passages in other plays have evident reference to the ancient Argonautics.

† "Agamemnon," 1233. The story arose, there can be little doubt, from the formidable cuttle-fish which are still found in the Straits of Messina and off the coasts of Sicily.

‡ It was known to antiquity by the title of *Μυρὰς ποίησις*. Pausanias, lib. x. 28.

§ xii. 273. Compare x. 135, where Ulysses says, "Then we arrived at the island *Ææa* (*Aiaín* ἐς νῆσον), and there dwelt the fair-haired Circe, a goddess, though speaking with human voice."

|| Apoll. Rhod., iv. 531. Circe was the sister of *Æetes*, and had been transferred from *Æa* to the Tyrrhenian coast of the Western land in the chariot of the sun (Apoll., iii. 310). It is there, on the Italian coast, that the *Odyssey* finds her. Diodorus, iv. 43, makes Circe the daughter of *Æetes* and *Hecate*, and the sister of *Medea*.

that stretched away still eastward after navigators had touched the eastern shores of the Pontus. It is to be distinguished from *Æea*, which is described as an island.* Most of our readers are familiar with the opening verses of the *Medea* of Euripides; "O that the hull of the Argo had never scudded through the looming rocks of the Symplegades to *Æa in Colchis*," or, as the words are more commonly rendered, "to the land of the Colchians."† Of course, King *Æetes* is the "lord of the mainland;" he is named in connexion with Phrixus in Pindar ("Pyth." iv. 160), and as ruling the Colchian people near the Phasis (*ibid.* 213). This Phasis, we may here just remark, is unconsciously spoken of at many a dinner-table where the guests are asked if they will take some *pheasant*. For the Romans got this bird, it would appear, from that locality, and thence called it *phasianus*, as we read of it in Martial. The epithet was applied, however, much earlier, for Aristophanes‡ appears to describe by it a particular breed of horses.

It appears on the whole very probable that the author of the "Odyssey," by whatever name he is to be called, and at whatever period he composed that immortal poem, really was indebted to some still earlier epics about the *Argo* for his account of Circe and her island home in *Æea*. But, if he took from thence his character of *Circe*, we are bound, in logical consistency, to believe that he may also have derived his Scylla and Charybdis, his sirens and his king Alcinous with the good queen Arete, from the same source. It is quite surprising how large a portion of the Homeric story is common to the two poems. Thus, the nymph *Calypso* (Ap. iv. 574), the island of Thrinacia and the oxen of the Sun (*ibid.* 965), *Æolus* the god of the winds (*ibid.* 765), besides the many coincidences already pointed out, seem to be consciously claimed by both poets as peculiarly their own. There seems only one explanation; both poems are based independently on the same earlier ballads.

Euripides also mentions the sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, Circe and the Cyclops, and the oxen of the Sun. It is rather remarkable, that whereas *Æschylus* seems to have followed the "Argonautica," Euripides seems to have known the "Odyssey," in some form at least, if not precisely the present form, of that poem. For he makes the locality of Scylla to be, not the neighbourhood of the Pontus, but the Straits of Messina. He

* *Æa* is regarded as situated at the furthest confines of the world (Apoll. Rhod., ii. 417).

† Κολχῶν ἐς αἶαν or Αἶαν.

‡ "Nubes," 109. This river (the *Rion*), at the eastern extremity of the Euxine, is appropriately described as the site of the Golden Fleece (Apoll. Rhod., ii. 400).

calls the monster *Τυρσηνίς*, and Thucydides, in describing the sites of the channel through which Ulysses was said to have sailed, says it was between the Tyrrhenian (or Ionian) and Sicilian seas.* From this, it is evident, Euripides gave her the epithet in question.†

Λέαιναν, οὐ γυναιῖκα, τῆς Τυρσηνίδος
Σκύλλης ἔχουσαν ἀγριωτέραν φύσιν.

In a remarkable passage of the "Trojan Captives" (Troades)‡ Euripides gives an epitome of the main facts of the "Odyssey" in their direct connexion with Ulysses, which proves that he at least was acquainted with a poem, of which neither Æschylus nor Sophocles shows any other knowledge than what may be inferred from the titles of two lost plays,§ though we do not know what was their treatment.

A further argument for the priority of the "Argonautica" may be derived from the mention of the "Unstable Rocks," *πλαγκταὶ πέτραι*, in both poems.|| That these were volcanic, probably in the neighbourhood of Stromboli and the Liparæ islands, seems more than probable, both from the name "shifting," "moving about" (*πλαγκταὶ*), descriptive of a well-known property of submarine volcanos, and also from the distinct mention of smoke issuing from their summits.¶ Now we read in Apollonius how the *Argo* was conveyed safely past these dangerous rocks by Thetis and her sea-nymphs; and in allusion to this story the author of the "Odyssey" says, that "the only ship which ever got past them was the *Argo*." It is added that no birds ever pass it,** not even the doves which are carrying ambrosia to Father Zeus; but one even of these is always taken off, only the father sends in another to make the number complete.

This is, *per se*, a very curious tradition. The dove is a well-known Eastern symbol of divine favour and protection; but the mention of it in the "Odyssey" seems somewhat lame and unconnected. Now, in the account of the passage through the dangerous Symplegades, in a very different part of the world, the Propontis, Apollonius Rhodius gives a narrative at once

* Thucydides, iv. 24. † "Medea," 1342 and 1359. ‡ 435, *seq.*

§ The *Penelope* of Æschylus and the *Nausicaa* of Sophocles. The one passage in Pindar which may refer to the Odyssey is "Nemea," vii. 21.

|| "Odyssey," xii. 61; Apoll. Rhod., iv. 924. In this latter passage they are described as near to Charybdis, which coincides with the Homeric site. But Homer nowhere mentions the *Cyanææ* of Apoll. Rhod., ii. 318, and iv. 304.

¶ Apoll. Rhod., *ibid.* So in "Odyssey," xii. 68, *πυρὸς ὀλοοῖο θύελλαι*.

** This reminds us of the derivation of the lake *Avernus* from *ἄορνος*, Virg. Aen. vi. 242.

consistent and archaic in its very details. The good ship, as Phineus the seer had foretold, would pass safely through the clashing rocks, if a dove let loose from the prow should make the passage. Euphemus, we are told,* *πρόηκε πελειάδα*, sent the dove on its mission of danger. It flew through them, but lost its tail feathers, *ὀυραία πτερὰ*, by the meeting of the rocks at the moment of its flight.

Here, we have no doubt, we have the nearest approach to the original story. The version of it in the "Odyssey," transferred from the icebergs of the Propontis to the basaltic rocks of the Sicilian Sea, is probably later, because it bears the character of imitation. The idea in the mind of the author of the "Odyssey" was, that many doves had been "nipped," and had lost their lives, not merely their tails. The addition is unquestionably feeble: "But Father Zeus always sends another to take their place."

We have said, instead of the received word, the *Symplegades*, or clashing rocks, "the icebergs of the Propontis." This is a matter of much literary and geological interest. It may be a record, or rather a dim tradition, of a remote pre-historic period, reaching back nearly to that "glacial" era, the existence of which appears to be now generally accepted as a scientific certainty.

Such a tradition, and one quite independent of this, is that the plains of Elis were once covered with deep snow.† Another name for the Symplegades was *Cyaneæ*, "the dark blue" rocks; and the word is used as an epithet by Euripides.‡ There must have been some special reason for the use of this word, as well as for the tradition of moving and clashing rocks, which the mere effect of perspective will not sufficiently account for. Pindar says§ they rolled and plunged like living things, which is exactly what icebergs do; the reflection of the sun upon them also gives them a tint well described by *κυανέαι*, "bluish;"|| the tradition that they ceased to roll, and stood still after the *Argo* had passed them, is precisely what icebergs would do when stranded at the mouth of the Bosphorus, to which they had been carried by the current from the icebound coasts and rivers on the north of the Pontus.

Modern attempts to explain the phenomena described by

* Apoll. Rhod., ii. 560-73. The prophecy of Phineus is in ii. 317, *seq.*

† *Ἰσρέχτο πολλὰ νιβάδι*, "Olympia," xi. 51.

‡ *κυανίας Συμπληγάδας*, "Medea," 2. The name *Symplegades* does not occur in Homer, Pindar, or Apollonius. Theocritus calls them *συνδρομάδες*, xiii. 32; Pindar, *σύνδρομοι πέτραι*, "Pyth.," iv. 208.

§ *κυλινδίσκοντο*, "Pyth.," iv. 209.

|| *Coerulea glacie*, Virg. Georg. i., 236.

the legend are far-fetched. There is really more to be said for the expressed opinion of Humboldt, that the breaking of the barrier of the Euxine, formerly a great inclosed lake, and the discharge of its waters into the Ægean Sea through the Sea of Marmora, were events probably within the range of the human period.* The peril of ships in the Arctic and Antarctic seas, from the closing of icefloes, is too well known to require any illustration. The *Argo*, says the story, got safely through them, and then they were stranded and never moved more.†

But we are told that this is only a silly story about some rocks that are still to be seen near the entrance of the Bosphorus. The following is the account given in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Geography‡ :—

Strabo (p. 319) correctly describes their number and situation: he calls them "two little isles, one on the European, and the other on the Asiatic side of the strait, separated from each other by twenty stadia." The more ancient account, representing them as sometimes separated, and at others joined together, was explained by Tournefort, who observed that each of them consists of one craggy island, but that when the sea is disturbed the water covers the lower parts, so as to make the different points of either resemble insular rocks. They are, in fact, each joined to the mainland by a kind of Isthmus, and appear as islands when this is inundated, which always happens in stormy weather.

Such an explanation, we repeat, is altogether inadequate.§ Rocky islands occur everywhere, but the story of their closing on ships is not applied to any but these. Nothing, as it seems to us, but the iceberg theory will really satisfy the conditions of the legend.

We have already observed that Apollonius Rhodius does not call these rocks the *Συμπληγάδες*, with Euripides,|| but *πλαγκται πέτραι*, and these again, in common with the *Odyssey*, he associates with volcanic agency.¶ The instability, due to different causes, both perhaps equally real in their origin, have become confounded in the legend.

Pindar's long Pythian ode, the fourth, written not later than

* This curious and very important tradition is preserved by Diodorus Siculus, v. 47. Humboldt comments on it in his "Cosmos," but we cannot now give the reference.

† *ἀφ' ὧ τότε χοιράδες ἔσταν*, Theocritus, xiii. 24. ‡ Art. *Bosphorus*.

§ It should, however, be observed that Sophocles calls them *σπιλάδες*, "table-rocks" ("Antig.," 966).

|| In "Iph. Taur.," 241, he speaks of *γῆν κυανέαν Συμπληγάδα*, which is more suited to the gradual movement of a glacier. But in v. 124 of the same play he calls them *πόντου δισσὰς συγχωρούσας πέτρας Εὐξείνου*, and *κυανέαι σύνοδοι θαλάσσης*, *ibid.* 392.

¶ "Argonaut," iv. 860, 924, 939.

B.C. 470, contains an interesting and brilliant account of Jason as the hero of the Argonautic expedition. Incidentally, he mentions the voyage to Lemnos and the crime of the Lemnian women, who had murdered their husbands.* In a chorus of the *Choephoroe*, Æschylus alludes to the same tale, and adds that the deed was regarded everywhere as accursed.† Sophocles and Euripides allude to the cruel act of Phineus in putting out the eyes of his own sons through jealousy of their mother Cleopatra.‡ Now, the very same tale was known to Apollonius, who mentions Cleopatra by name;§ and, indeed, the fame of the prophet, his blindness, and the punishment inflicted on him by Apollo for too freely declaring the counsels of Zeus, in having his food always carried away by Harpies,|| were among the celebrated stories of antiquity. The legend appears to record some destructive flights of locusts, the putrefaction of which caused the foul stink which forms a part of the story, while the driving away of the Harpies by the sons of Boreas¶ may be explained by the removal of the clouds of these insects by a strong north-wind. Some half-mythical geography of the Pontus—e.g., Salmydessus, Thermodon, Themiscira, the Bosphorus, common to the tragic poets,** evidently came from the ancient *Argonautica*. But one of the most remarkable coincidences between Pindar and Apollonius, and one which incontestably proves that Apollonius has but worked up in his own way an older story,†† is the meeting of Jason and his crew with the god Triton in the Libyan desert. To appreciate the close identity, the reader should have the strange story presented to him in the words of each poet.

Pindar writes thus :††—

It shall come to pass that Thera shall one day become the mother of great cities, by that token which once, at the mouth of the lake

* "Pyth.," iv. 252.

† "Choeph.," 631. Apollonius relates the affair, "Argonaut.," i. 600, *seq.*

‡ "Antig.," 971, where they are mentioned in connexion with the Cyanæ. Eurip. "Iph. T.," 422; Diodorus, iv. 43, 44.

§ "Argonaut.," ii. 239.

|| Apollonius, ii. 180. See Virg. *Aen.*, iii. 212, *seq.*

¶ The great antiquity of this story is shown by its being made the subject of a sculpture at Amyclæ, near Sparta, by an artist called Bathycles (Pausan., iii. 18, 15), believed to be contemporary with Solon, or about B.C. 600.

** See, for instance, Æsch. "Prom. Vinc.," 724, *seq.* There are good reasons indeed for thinking that the subject of the play was itself taken from the old *Argonautica*. See Apoll. *Rhod.*, ii. 370, 995, 1247.

†† To suppose that he copied from Pindar would be to have a very imperfect idea of the literary resources of the ancients.

‡‡ "Pyth.," iv. 20, *seq.*

Tritonis, Euphemus descending from the brow received at the hands of a god, when in the likeness of a man he offered him as a hospitable gift a clod of earth. . . . It was then that the God who haunts the wilds (Triton) came up to them, having assumed the cheery countenance of a venerable man; and he commenced a friendly address in terms such as well-doers use when they first offer hospitality to strangers on their arrival. Then he told us that he was Eurypylus, the son of the Earth-holder, the immortal Ennosides. And he was aware we were pressed for time; so instantly catching up in his right hand a hospitable offering of field-earth that chanced to lie before him, he desired to make that a friendly gift. Nor did Euphemus refuse to comply, but leaping on the shore, and joining hand to hand he took from him the fateful clod.

Compare the precisely similar narrative in Apollonius (iv. 1551):—

Then they were met by the widely ruling Triton in the guise of a young man, who took up a clod of earth and offered it as a hospitable gift to the heroes, with these words:—"I am lord of the coast-land, if in some other country you have heard of one Eurypylus, a native of Libya, the nurse of wild animals." So spake he; and forthwith Euphemus held his hand to receive the clod, and said these words in reply.

In Apollonius (ii. 500 *seqq.*) we have an account of the nymph Cyrene, carried off by Apollo, and by him becoming the mother of Aristæus. Pindar (Pyth. ix.) says precisely the same; and both poets add, that the shepherd-god Aristæus was also invoked as Ἀργεῦς and Νόμος. Evidently, therefore, a common source or tradition for the statement was known to both.

One of the many close resemblances between the "Argonautics" of Apollonius and the "Odyssey" is the account of the oxen of the sun in the island of Thrinacia, tended by two fair nymphs, Lampetie and Phaëthusa.* But nothing is said in the "Argonautics" about killing any of the sacred herd, an act which, in the "Odyssey," brings a heavy retribution. Here, again, it seems that both poets independently followed older accounts. The name *Thrinacia*, which carries with it no intelligible meaning, appears to us a change introduced by the rhapsodists from the word *Trinacria*, the island with the three headlands, *i.e.*, Sicily,† partly from metrical convenience, but more so from that singular affectation of great antiquity which has stamped many words in our Homeric texts with a pseudo-archaic character. To fix the precise geographical position of

* "Odyssey," xii. 127; Apoll. Rhod., iv. 965.

† Trinacria, as a name of Sicily, Σικαρία, is first mentioned in Thucydides, vi. 2.

the half mythical Thrinacia would of course be impossible. In Homer it seems to be in the region of the Euxine;* in Apollonius it may fairly occupy the position of Rhodes or Sicily. It is obvious, however, that Apollonius, writing at so late a period as that of the Ptolemies, purposely avoided the identification of the Sun-island with any real and then well-known geographical position. For the whole point and interest of these old stories is lost when once we pass from the regions of cloudland into that of fixed sites and historical localities. To make the Scheria or Phæacia of the "Odyssey" nothing more nor less than the Corcyra of Thucydides, is to divest the narrative of its true character by changing mystery into reality.

The efforts of early writers to get rid of merely mythical geography, and to ascertain the true names and relative positions of seas, cities, and islands, is in itself an interesting subject of thought and inquiry. To the last there were lingering beliefs in India being an extension of Ethiopia, in a circling ocean stream, in a river Eridanus, in lakes and rivers connected with subterranean and infernal agencies, in a somewhat "uncanny" city called Tartessus, in the far West,† to say nothing of weird lands inhabited by Gorgons, Harpies, one-eyed women, *et hoc genus omne*. Perhaps Herodotus was the first who travelled as a scientific explorer of the parts of the world dimly known and incorrectly described and mapped out by the Logographers, such as Hecateus of Miletus. But we find Æschylus in the early play of *The Persians* (B.C. 472), giving a pretty long and correct list of the Ionian cities and settlements of the Asiatic coast which had hitherto paid tribute to the great King. Maps of a rude kind were used before the time of Herodotus, and they are mentioned also by Apollonius Rhodius.‡

The Sirens, or "Pipers," form the subject of another myth common to Homer and Apollonius. They are not mentioned by Hesiod, Pindar, or Æschylus; but Sophocles is quoted by Plutarch as having referred to them in connexion with the wanderings of Ulysses,§ and Euripides alludes to them once in the "Helena."|| We read in Homer of their enchanting songs, and of Ulysses having stopped the ears of his crew with wax, that they might not hear those lovely but fatal strains as they sailed past the island, while he himself listened to them tied fast

* See "Juventus Mundi," p. 481, 486; "Homer," says Mr. Gladstone, p. 480, "appears to have compounded into one group two sets of Phœnician reports concerning the entrance from without to the Thalassa or Mediterranean: one of them referring to the Straits of Messina, with their Scylla and Charybdis; the other to the Bosphorus and its Planctai."

† Ar. Ran., 475.

‡ Arg., iv. 281; Herodotus, v. 49.

§ See Soph. Frag., 407, ed., Dind.

|| v. 169.

to the mast.* The story, without doubt, is very ancient, and it seems to have had many versions. The Sirens symbolised the magic power which the fascinations of women exercise over men, "song" and "incantation" being nearly the same ideas expressed in similar words. In Apolloniust† they are called Daughters of Achelöus and the Muse Terpsichore, in shape now resembling birds, now young maidens. One of the crew, by name Butes, unable to resist the melody, leaped into the sea, and was only saved by a miracle from being drowned in swimming to their island. Now Euripides, who calls the Sirens *winged*, *πτεροφόροι*, seems to refer to the Argonautics, and not to the "Odyssey," though he also calls them "Children of Earth," *Χθονὸς κόραι*. Conversely, Sophocles, as we have seen, said that Ulysses visited them, and yet he calls them "Daughters of Phorcus," and says they sang death-dirges. The inference from this is a very curious one; that Sophocles may not have had the "Odyssey" in its present form, but other stories about the adventures of Ulysses which, without doubt, were current in very early times. Be this as it may, another very striking fact is here to be mentioned. Apollodorus, in his "Bibliotheca,"† who, though a late writer, doubtless epitomised the earlier authors, such as Pherecydes and Acusilaus, mentions not only the Sirens, but Scylla and Charybdis, Thrinacia, the oxen of the Sun, Alcinoüs, the Planctæ, *only in connexion with the Argonauts*. He does not allude to them at all in their relation to Ulysses. He seems, therefore, as a matter of priority, to have considered the genuine legend to be Argonautic and not Homeric; and, in all probability, though the conclusion is a somewhat startling one, he was right.

But here we are met by a further difficulty. In Book I. chap. iii. he gives the parentage of the Sirens nearly as in Apollonius—viz., the Daughters of Achelöus and Melpomene; but he adds this clause—"about whom we will speak in our narrative about Ulysses." This part of his work being lost, we cannot say how the double narrative was treated by him.§ It is very possible, and even probable, that he would have repeated the same stories in his account of the wanderings of Ulysses;

* "Odyssey," xii. 178.

† Arg., iv. 894.

‡ Lib. i. 9, 25.

§ Apollodorus is believed to have compiled his work about B.C. 140. As we have it, it is imperfect; it may be that, like the Characters of Theophrastus, only an abbreviation of a larger work has come down to us. "The part which is wanting at the end contained the stories of the families of Pelops and Atreus, and probably the whole of the Trojan cycle also." (Smith's "Greek and Roman Biography," i. p. 234.) It is singular that the same narrative about Ulysses is wanting in Diodorus Siculus, who treats of the Argonautic expedition at length in his Fourth Book.

possibly, too, the identity of the accounts would have struck him more than it seems to have struck modern scholars. Anyhow, he seems to give precedence or priority of time to the Argonautic story. So far as we know, there is no other example in antiquity of two quite distinct poems being composed of incidents absolutely identical. Can we conceive an Alexandrine poet, solely on his own caprice, and without any ancient authority, simply importing into his own poem these primary incidents of the "Odyssey?" If he did this, and make up his more modern poem with the most barefaced plagiarisms, from what sources did he derive those other non-Homeric portions of the story which were familiar to Pindar and the Tragic? How is it, for instance, that both poets make Pelias to live in constant fear of "the man with one shoe," whom the oracle had forewarned him of as the claimant and invader of his kingdom?"*

The character of Jason, as given by Pindar, is one of great interest. It shows how strong and sincere an admiration for a chaste and virtuous life could be felt even by those who too often set all morality at defiance in their practice. Jason, we are told, was the pupil of old Chiron the Centaur, who also taught the young Achilles. We have pictures of him on ancient Greek vases, handling the lute and showing Achilles how to use it. How beautiful is the consciousness of manly innocence with which Jason accosts king Pelias in answer to his inquiries:—

I am the pupil of Chiron; I come straight from his cave on the hills, where I was brought up side by side with the virtuous maiden daughters of Chiron. For twenty years I have not said one word or done a single act to them that was unbecoming. And now you see me here to claim my father's kingdom which has been held by a tyrant and a usurper.†

"Jason" means "healer," as Chiron means "handy." The young man had been taught what the old man had long practised, the kindly arts of a hermit of the wilds,—how to cure wounds and blains, sun-strokes and frost-bitten limbs.‡

The name then was fancifully associated with *ἰᾶσθαι* and *ἰαρός*, and *ἰάσω* was "the medicine-man." The name was given him, he declared, by Chiron himself.§ Here is a magnificent description of his person;|| we commend it heartily to any artist who desires an effective theme for a powerful picture:

* Apollon. Rhod., i. 7; Pind. "Pyth.," iv. 75.

† Pind. "Pyth.," iv. 102—7

‡ Pind. "Pyth.," iii. 50.

§ "Pyth.," iv. 119.

|| Ibid. 79—83.

He came, that hero bold, striking awe as he went by the two pointed darts that he grasped in his hand. On him was a dress, partly native to the Magnesians of Thessaly fitting close to his grand limbs,* while over it was thrown a leopard's skin to protect him from the hurtling showers. Not yet had the glossy locks of his hair been severed from his head, but they hung gleaming all down his back.

Such was the stripling who won the heart of the too loving Medea. She followed his fortunes, and we know the end of the tragic story from Euripides. Now, we are not going to write one word of disparagement against that splendid and powerful tragedy, the "Medea." But there our Jason of Chiron's cave is but too sadly transformed into the special pleader, not to say the dishonest quibbler of the Athenian assembly. His desertion of Medea and engaging in a new marriage with the Corinthian princess, is a tale of woe familiar to every school-boy. It must have been a splendid sight on the Attic stage to see the outraged wife and sorceress, the granddaughter of the Sun, born aloft in a gilded car, defying her enemies, and leaving to Jason the corpses of his murdered children.

That the story of Jason is really, as I have contended, a "Solar Myth" is very evident from another circumstance. He is ordered by King Æetes, as a condition of carrying off the Golden Fleece, to tame certain brazen-footed and fire-breathing bulls, and yoke them to a plough of adamant. This task he performs by the aid of the enchantress Medea. The bulls are expressly said to have been made by the god Hephæstus for the Sun,† because when he had become weary in the conflict against the giants, the Sun had received him, the fire-god, in his car. "Therefore," says the poet, "he made for him bulls with brazen mouths and brazen feet, and a plough of adamant."

Now, it is to be observed that Jason, in taming these bulls, throws them violently on their knees.‡ It is an interesting fact that this very act is represented in a celebrated group, not uncommon in ancient art, of the Persian Sun-god Mithras. He is portrayed as "a handsome youth kneeling on a bull, which is thrown on the ground, and whose throat he is cutting."§ Clearly, then, Jason is engaged in the same con-

* "Veste stricta et singulos artus exprimente," is a phrase by which Tacitus describes the dress of the wealthier German chiefs, "Germ." ch. 17.

† Apoll. Rhod., iii. 233.

‡ Apoll., iii. 1308.

§ Smith's "Dictionary of Biography," ii. p. 1093; Diodorus, iv. 47, endeavours to explain the story rationally; the fierce bulls, he says, are only another name for the savage nation of the Tauri, in the Crimea!

test. Nor is the story a late figment of Apollonius. Pindar has exactly the same relation as Apollonius:*

Now when Æetes had set before them the plough of adamant and the bulls that breathed from their tawny jaws the flame of burning fire, and with brazen hoofs stamped the ground with alternate steps, Jason forced them by the sole strength of his arm to submit their necks to the collar of the yoke, and drove them to the end of a furrow which he had marked by a straight line.

The narrative of Apollonius is longer, but the reader who will take the trouble to compare it will feel convinced of the general truth of my proposition, that very old *Argonautica* existed, well-known to Pindar and the Tragic, even at an era prior to the composition or compilation of the "Odyssey." The subject is worthy of further investigation. What I have said has been advanced in the spirit of inquiry, and as far removed as possible from that of dogmatic or confident assertion.

F. A. PALEY.

ART. X.—THE EVANGELISATION OF AFRICA.

The Heart of Africa: Three Years of Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa from 1868 to 1871. By Dr. GEORG SCHWEINFÜRT. 2 vols. New and abridged Edition. Sampson Low and Co., London. 1878.

The Flooding of the Sahara. By DONALD MACKENZIE. Sampson Low and Co. 1877.

Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur la Mission des Chotts: Etudes Relatives au Projet de mer intérieure. Par le Capitaine ROUDAIRE. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris. 1878.

L'Evangile au Dahomey: ou, Histoire des Missions Africaines de Lyon. Par l'Abbé DESRIBES. Clermont-Ferrand. 1877.

Les Missions Catholiques. Lyon.

THE continent of Africa constitutes nearly one-fourth part of the land surface of the globe. It is supposed to have a population of 200,000,000 human beings,† or of more than

* "Pyth.," iv. 224; Apoll. Rhod., iii. 1290, *seq.*

† There are no reliable statistics of population for Africa. We are dependent upon approximations and generalisations made upon the various accounts given by travellers and explorers. The estimates vary from 100,000,000 to 200,000,000. The official census, published at Washington in 1874, puts the population of Africa at 203,000,000; Keith Johnson and Hübner of Berlin put it at 200,000,000.

double the populations of the two Americas, Australia, and Polynesia put together. It is not only the largest and the richest of the three great Southern continents, but it is peopled by tribes which, with the exception of the Chinese, form the largest single family of men on the face of the earth.

How much knowledge of Africa was possessed by the ancients it is impossible to say. Herodotus speaks of the Ethiopian territory as being "the extreme part of the habitable world. It produces much gold, huge elephants, wild trees of all kinds, ebony, and men of large stature, very handsome and long-lived." (Herod., iii., 114). The speculations he records as to the sources of the Nile, and the cause of the periodical overflow of its waters, are curious, and many of them wild in the extreme. They show how little was known of Equatorial Africa.

One of the greatest misfortunes for Africa was the destruction of the great Carthaginian Empire by the Romans 140 years before Christ. That empire had flourished for 700 years. It had a sway that extended from the coasts of the Mediterranean down towards the Niger, and while it was the greatest commercial empire in the world, it possessed a civilisation and a literature which, had they not been utterly destroyed by Scipio Africanus, would no doubt in time have spread their effects far into central Africa. But such was the jealousy of the Romans lest the records of the mighty achievements of the Carthaginians in Africa should become known in Europe, that the immense libraries of Carthage, instead of being brought to Rome, were given away to the Numidian chiefs, who carried them off towards the Soudan.*

Not only has nothing of the history of Africa, with the exception of the north-eastern corner of it, been handed down to us from the ancients, but even the shape and size of the

* The French Minister at Tangier, M. Tissot, who is a learned archaeologist, in a letter dated December 17, 1875, says that he had learnt from Moroccan caravaneers that there exists in the Sahara, at about sixty-eight leagues from Cape Bojador, a stone obelisk, deeply planted in the ground, and covered with inscriptions; and that at Tishit, on the route from Timbuctoo to Arguin, there is a depôt of more than a thousand very ancient manuscripts. Mr. Mackenzie thinks that these manuscripts may form part of the famous Carthaginian libraries, which the Numidians carried away from Carthage when they were driven south by the Vandals, founding the kingdom of Ghanata, in the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo, with Walata for its capital, and Tishit—where the manuscripts are said to be—as one of its provincial towns. This view is confirmed by Arab historians, who say that in the third century a kingdom was formed by white people—evidently the Numidians—in this district, and that they had emigrated from the North. It is quite possible, then, that when these manuscripts shall be fully discovered and deciphered, they may throw light upon much which is at present buried in obscurity.

continent were totally unknown to our ancestors, till Vasco de Gama, in 1497, doubling the Cape, led the way to the discovery of the east coast, and to a knowledge of the entire outline and configuration of the continent. This happened one year before the discovery of the continent of America by Columbus. The motive which urged the Portuguese on their early African discoveries was the desire to find a passage by sea to India, all approaches to which from the north of Africa, from Egypt and from Syria had been closed to Christians by the Mahomedan domination throughout those countries.

The subject of this article being the Evangelisation of Africa, it will not be out of place to sketch in broad outline the origin of the race we desire to evangelise.

The Bible tells us that the whole earth was peopled by the descendants of the three sons of Noe, Sem, Cham, and Japhet—"from these was all mankind spread over the whole earth" (Gen. ix.). The word Cham signifies in its Hebrew root *hot* and *swarthy*, *hot* being its primary, and *swarthy* its secondary meaning. The sons of Cham were "Chus, and Mesraim, and Phuth, and Chanaan." "Chus begot Nemrod; he began to be mighty on the earth, and he was a stout hunter before the Lord" (Gen. x.). The Chusites built Nineve and Babylon, and dwelt in the land of Sennaar. Here it was, in "a plain of the land of Sennaar," that they and other children of Adam began to build the city of Babel. When God confounded their speech, and "scattered them abroad upon the face of all countries," the Chusites, or a portion of them, are thought to have crossed over the Straits of Babel Mandeb, and to have travelled towards the sources of the Nile; while Mesraim and Phuth* are said to have peopled Egypt (Mesraim giving his name to Egypt, the Arabic for Egypt being *Misr*) and the north of Africa. Taking into account the early history of the sons of Cham as builders, we are not surprised to find their descendants engaged in building the pyramids of Egypt, the highest of which, that of Cheops, Herodotus tells us, was within 170 feet of the height of the Tower of Babel. The descendants of Cham in Africa were called by the Greeks *Ethiopians* from their *burnt* or *black* complexion, and Africa and Ethiopia in the Bible are often used synonymously.

It has been popularly supposed that the black complexion of the children of Cham was the effect of the curse pronounced by Noe, and that the poor Africans are a perpetual witness by their

* Mr. Wilson, in his "Western Africa," says: "The Foulahs have a tradition that they are the descendants of Phuth, the son of Ham. . . . They have prefixed this name to almost every district of any extent that they have ever occupied. They have Futa-Terro, near Senegal; Futa-Bondu and Futa-Jallon, on the north-east of Sierra Leone."

colour to this curse. It is true that Noe pronounced no blessing on Cham, and that he cursed Chanaan; but, on the one hand, the Chanaanites are white, not black, and on the other, the Aryan races of India, generally supposed to be Japhetic, are black. There are also black Jews on the coast of Malabar, to say nothing of the Portuguese descendants of the first settlers, who, perhaps by intermingling of races, have become the blackest of the black. It cannot therefore be argued that blackness of skin has any connection whatever with the curse.

The great work on the African races is by Dr. Hartmann, "*Die Nigritier*;" but it is sufficient for our purpose to adopt the Nilotic and the Nigritian families as the main divisions of that portion of the Chusite emigration that crossed over the straits of Babel Mandeb. Some of these wanderers followed up the Nile towards its sources in the interior, while others crossed over the continent towards the Niger, and gradually peopled the western coast. These two rivers—the Nile, which is the longest river in the world, and the Niger, which is at least 3500 miles in length—water the richest portions of Africa, east and west.

"There is a mutual unity," says Mr. Rowley, of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, "between the multitudinous tribes comprising these two great divisions of the African race, yet there are certain peculiarities of bodily conformation, and differences in the structure of their languages, and diversities of habits and customs, both religious and social, which justify the division. Generally the Nilotic tribes are less robust and energetic than the Nigritians; their bodily conformation is more graceful; they are characterised by a greater pliancy of disposition; their languages are more expressive; and their religious and social arrangements are not so frequently identified with the extremes of the worst features of heathenism."

But it should be borne in mind that the variations existing in each of these great divisions are quite as numerous and as marked as any which are to be found among the inhabitants of Europe, Asia, or America. It is altogether a mistake to identify in our mind the whole African race with that portion of it with which we are most familiar, the negro type of the west coast. In Lepsius's "*Monuments of Egypt*," (Abtheil III., B.C. 136,) the *reddish-brown* are the Egyptians (Chamites); the *black* are the negroes (Chamites); the *white* are the Tamahu, supposed to be of the same race with the Libyans, who are also Chamites. In Africa there are not only vast differences in complexion, but there are other differences quite as remarkable, which distinguish tribes that are settled contiguously. An illustration of this is found in the Niam-niam, or "great eaters," and the Akkas. The Niam-niam, like the Fans, who devour great quantities of human fat, which they strangely consider to be intoxicating, are

cannibals. Both these tribes, the Niam-niam and the Akkas, are found between the 4th and 6th par. of N. lat., and the 20th and 30th of E. long.

"No traveller," says Dr. Schweinfürth, in his "Heart of Africa," "could possibly find himself for the first time surrounded by a group of the Niam-niam without being almost forced to confess that all he had hitherto witnessed amongst the various races of Africa was comparatively tame and uninteresting, so remarkable is the aspect of this savage people."

"With his lance in one hand, his woven shield and trumbash (a kind of boomerang) in the other, with his scimitar in his girdle, and his loins encircled by a skin to which are attached the tails of several animals, his breast and forehead adorned by strings of teeth, the trophies of war or of the chase, his long hair floating freely over his neck and shoulders, his large, keen eyes gleaming from beneath his heavy brow, his white and pointed teeth shining from between his parted lips, he advances with a firm and defiant bearing, so that the stranger, as he gazes upon him, may well behold in this true son of the African wilderness every attribute of the wildest savagery that may be conjured up by the boldest flight of fancy. . . . Nowhere in any part of Africa have I come across a people that in every attitude and every motion exhibited so thorough a mastery over all the circumstances of war or of the chase as these Niam-niam. Other nations in comparison seemed to me to fall short in the perfect ease—I might almost say, in the dramatic grace—that characterised every movement."

In close proximity to the Niam-niam are the Akkas, one of the dwarf races which extend along the equatorial regions across the continent. These pigmies have been known and celebrated since the days of Homer; but the first European that has come across them was Dr. Schweinfürth, in 1870.

"I looked up," says Dr. Schweinfürth, one day while staying with the King of Monbuttoo, "and there, sure enough, was the strange little creature, dressed like a Monbuttoo, perched on Mohammed's right shoulder, nervously hugging his head, and casting glances of alarm in every direction. Mohammed soon deposited him in the seat of honour. A royal interpreter was stationed at his side. Thus at last I was able veritably to feed my eyes upon a living embodiment of the myths of a thousand years."

This little fellow was the head, or king, of a colony of his people. The average height of the Akkas is four feet ten inches; in bodily conformation they seem to differ in nothing, except in size, from their more powerful neighbours, though their mental qualities are of a lower order. Stanley, in his popular work, "Through the Dark Continent," speaks of the Watwa pigmies as being four feet six and a half inches high, and twenty-four inches round the waist; while he repeats an Arab story, reminding one, it must

be confessed, of the "Arabian Nights," of a whole nation of warrior dwarfs who measured no more than three feet high, and lived next to a race of powerfully built men.

So far as discovery has gone, there appear to be about 190 subdivisions of the African race, and they speak at least 100 distinct languages. These facts have their interest for the trader and the man of science as well as for the missionary.

The degradation of the African race is traceable to two principal causes. The chief cause was, that they had wandered to an immeasurable distance from the home of the chosen people, and therefore from the influences of the Divine Teacher, who never ceased to abide in the midst of Israel. The second was, that through a variety of influences, climatic, territorial, and social, they were cut off from the seats of civilisation. These men, as Herodotus called them, "handsome, of large stature and long-lived," had to fly for their lives and for their liberty from the races that ever sought to enslave them. They buried themselves further and further in the interior, learning by degrees, after generations of acclimatisation, to live in the midst of miasmas which were certain death to their pursuers. The rich soil yielded food without labour, the warmth of the sun dispensed with much clothing, and, with the vices springing from indolence added to the extinction of the lights of revelation and of faith, a moral enervation fell upon a people that were at their origin in the vanguard of civilisation. Professor Rawlinson, in his "Five Great Monarchies," speaking of the race of Cham, says :

For the last three thousand years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; but it was *otherwise in the first ages*. Egypt and Babylon, Mizraim and Nimrod, both descendants of Ham, led the way, and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. Alphabet writing, astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry, seem all to have had their origin in one or other of these two countries. . . . The inventors of any art are among the greatest benefactors of their race, and mankind at the present day lies under infinite obligation to the genius of those early days.

As to the actual inferiority of the African to the Caucasian race there can be no doubt. It is recognised by the Africans themselves, and this recognition, as we shall presently show, is one of the most important facts to be taken into account in labouring for their conversion. Their inferiority, however, is attributable to the disadvantages in the midst of which they have been reared for thousands of years, not to any innate defect in their original nature. It is just as we see with many of the noblest and most useful species of the vegetable and animal

kingdom. They deteriorate as soon as they are abandoned and allowed to grow wild. What extraordinary moral and physical differences are brought about in our own race by education and climate even within three generations! And yet, with all their disadvantages, the Africans, as a race, are far superior in the arts and industries of social and civilised life to the aboriginal races of America and Australia, and they possess certain moral characteristics which ought to bring shame over the face of many of the children of our modern civilisation.

Let it be generously recognised that the vast race inhabiting the continent enclosed by the Atlantic and Indian Oceans possess natural virtues and capabilities, which may serve as "cords of Adam" to lead back the race to a higher civilisation, and to a more perfect knowledge of God than that from which, through their misfortune and isolation, they have declined. Two thousand years ago and the peoples of Northern Europe were in a more degraded social and religious condition than millions of Africans at this day. Is it not according to analogy, and may it not be within the actual designs of Providence, *qui facit nationes sanabiles*, to pour out grace, in His own good time, upon the nations of Ethiopia? The works of God are gradual, and a thousand years with Him are as one day. The descendants of Cham, compelled to come in to the Supper from the highways and hedges, will sit in places that millions of the descendants of Sem and of Japhet have been unworthy to occupy. When Europe prevaricated in the sixteenth century, God more than filled up the ranks that were thinned, by discoveries and conversions to the faith in the New World. And now, while the children of our modern civilisation—sensitive, soft, refined, cultivated, and intellectual—are led by vanity, disobedience, and pride into the errors and vices which were also the outcome of those older civilisations that made not God the beginning of their joy, the compensation may be at hand. God chooses the lowly and the weak to confound the learned and the strong, and the things that are not to confound the things that are, so that no flesh may glory in His sight. For ourselves, we have a profound conviction that the turning of Europe to Africa which we are witnessing at the present moment, and the scientific, commercial, and philanthropic interest which are now being directed upon her resources and her races, are pledges of the providence and love of God for the innumerable souls that yet lie in darkness and alienation of soul from their supreme Good.

But to continue. While taking into consideration the prospect of the evangelisation of Africa we are met by two giant obstacles, which must necessarily be removed before Africa can be converted. The first is the isolation of her people from the fountain

of Christian life, brought about by want of means of safe communication, and by climatic influences which are usually fatal to the white man. The second is the accursed evil of slavery, which, stimulated by a thirst for gain, makes tribe prey upon tribe, and keeps the whole continent either in a state of savagery or in a state of restlessness and craven fear, instinct with vice and demoralisation.

We believe that these two great obstacles to progress are to be removed by the continuous and persistent action of Europe and America upon Africa, and especially by the action of the British Empire. God raised up, as St. Leo says, the great fabric of the Roman Empire in order to provide opportunities and means unknown to the authorities of that Empire, and often in spite of them, for the spread of Christianity; so may we hold that in these latter days a wider and more beneficent Empire than the Roman has been raised up for the same providential purpose. Trade and commerce make their thoroughfares and highways; they establish settlements and centres; they open up amicable relations, if legitimately carried on, with the primary and natural instincts and wants of men; they spread benefits, which are sensible and tangible as well as mutual. They appeal to nothing recondite, unseen, or spiritual, but to man in the natural order. We are a nation of traders and merchants, and our interests, far beyond those of any other nation, lie over the length and breadth of Africa.

The natural order precedes the supernatural; the cardinal virtues are the basis of the theological. The Catholic missionary will make but little way with tribes that are wild or savage, and ignorant of, or hostile to, the first principles of civilisation. Whoever, therefore, promotes these principles is doing his work. The first condition for his apostolate is that he should secure access and free communication with the people he desires to convert, and the second is that he should be able to commend his ministry and win confidence, even as our Lord Himself did, by appeals to the common wants of man, and by a generous exercise of the corporal as well as the spiritual works of mercy. The Catholic missionary is not a trader, and Mtesa, King of Uganda, on Victoria Nyanza, and the tribes on the West coast who have asked for priests who are *not* traders, abundantly prove that the African is able to distinguish the functions of the missionary from those of the trader, though he desires even from the missionary instruction in whatever tends to improve the temporal condition of his life.

Let us now briefly examine what services commerce, science, and philanthropy may render to the cause of the Church in the evangelisation of Africa.

And first, as to the work of commerce and science in opening out

means of communication with the interior. By way of illustration, take that vast territory of Central Africa known as the Soudan, with Timbuctoo as its chief centre or capital. It is bounded on the E. by the Kardofan, on the S. by equatorial Africa, on the W. by the Kong Mountains, and on the N. by the Sahara. It is made up of at least nine or ten independent empires or kingdoms, of which the western are watered by the Niger; it extends over an area five times that of Great Britain and Ireland; and according to Keith Johnson has a population of from 30,000,000 to 50,000,000 souls, composed chiefly of Fellatahs and Mandingoes. We may be permitted to make a somewhat long extract from Mr. Mackenzie's book on "The Flooding of the Sahara." Though it is chiefly a compilation, it is not the less interesting in its description of the kingdoms of the Soudan:—

These tribes, the Fellatahs and Mandingoes, show more capacity for improvement than any other negro nation; they possess well organised governments, and have their public schools, which are well conducted. Agriculture has been carefully pursued by them; and in manufactures, especially in weaving and dyeing cloth, and tanning leather, and working iron, they are well skilled. Their merchants are enterprising and industrious; they were the first of the pure Africans to embrace Islam, and are still zealous upholders of that faith Their language, which is written in Arabic, is the richest and most poetical of all the negro dialects. They are great travellers, and are intimately acquainted with the interior of Africa. The villages and towns are each possessed of a market-place and a mosque. They are passionately fond of music; and they who sing and write poetry form one professional class, while those who tell stories form another.

The Fellatahs are the most powerful tribes in Soudan; their influence embraces one-tenth of the whole African continent. They are conspicuous for their noble bearing and fine features, resembling the people of Asia Minor and Central and Eastern Europe, while they display similar intelligence and poetical feeling. Their colour is rich brown, not often deeper than that of Spaniards or Portuguese. Some, however, are black, with smooth hair. Great numbers lead a pastoral life, wandering in the midst of settled tribes; a larger number are engaged in agriculture and commerce. Open up for him a direct communication, and thus enable him to meet the demand which they will occasion for the products of his country in the usual exchanges of commerce, and his position in the social scale will be at once raised. He is characteristically fond of gain, and this love of acquisition will aid his development considerably. His fortitude under affliction is worthy of the emulation of more civilised races. He is frugal and temperate, but on occasions of festivity is drunk to excess. He is fond of oratory, and when roused by strong excitement expresses himself with much feeling and energy. Less the creature of impulse than the native of America, his temperament is more regular and his passions less violent. The women are docile, industrious, and, with all

their hard work, healthy and prolific. Under favourable circumstances they give a ready ear to the doctrines of Christianity. The success which has attended Islamism might help to convince us that these millions could readily be Christianised were men and means adequate to the importance of the undertaking forthcoming. The slaves of the Fellatahs are generally well treated. They labour for their master from daybreak till noon; the remainder of the time being at their disposal."—p. 47.

We are afraid that Dr. Barth and Mr. Mackenzie have given a somewhat roseate hue to their description of the people of the Soudan; for an extremely small number of Europeans have been able to penetrate into these regions, and Timbuctoo is almost a sealed city for foreigners. Missioners have hitherto made no settlements among them. Three priests sent two years ago into the Soudan by the Archbishop of Algiers were murdered within a short distance of Timbuctoo.

Nevertheless, a large trade is carried on at present between the Soudan, with its thirty or fifty millions of inhabitants, and the ports of Morocco, Tunis and Tripoli. Mr. Mackenzie says this trade amounts to £4,000,000 a year; but Captain Roudaire quotes the authority of M. Largeau for the estimate of 52,000,000 francs a year as the amount of trade between the Soudan and the Mediterranean coast. He adds, however, that the merchants of Rhadames affirm that the "products of the Soudan are sufficient to feed the whole world," for "the ground itself is of gold." Cotton grows wild in all directions without cultivation, while gums and oils, and other products of the greatest value in Europe, are thrown away in the Soudan from want of means of transport.

The distance the caravans have to travel at present between Timbuctoo and Morocco, by the shortest route, is over 2000 miles of mountainous and difficult country and of burning sand. The double journey takes a whole year. The average value of merchandise that can be carried by each camel across the desert is £50.

Mr. Mackenzie has a project which, if carried out, would very soon, he thinks, increase the present trade from 4,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* per annum, and it would have this further advantage in his eyes: it would divert the trade from Morocco and the Mediterranean and transfer it to the Atlantic and to England.

His proposal, which has received considerable attention, is easily understood. Establish a trading station at Cape Juby on the Atlantic coast. Cape Juby is but eighty miles from the Canaries, and would be within nine days' sail of England. The distance from Cape Juby to Timbuctoo, the capital of the Soudan, is but 800 miles by the Wadan route, instead of 2000 from

Timbuctoo to Morocco. The route to Cape Juby has also the additional advantage of having forty-two stations on the road, with abundance of water. The climate of Cape Juby and its district is as healthy as that of Madeira, and would soon become the resort of invalids as well as of merchants.

But the project of bringing England into close relations with the immense population of Central Africa goes much further than the mere formation of a trading station at Cape Juby. On the western side of the Sahara there is a great basin, called El Juf, covering about 60,000 square miles; its greatest length is 500, its maximum width 120 miles. It extends from twelve miles of the Atlantic coast to within something over 100 miles of Timbuctoo. This great hollow of the desert was at one time filled by the Atlantic, but according to Arab traditions the water has gradually disappeared since the year 1200. The bed of El Juf is said by Captain Riley and others who have examined it to be 200 feet below the sea level. This dried-up basin is so fearfully sterile and barren a region that even the caravans always avoid it. There is but one human settlement throughout its length and breadth, that of Taudeng, the famous salt mines that have been worked for 500 years; 20,000 camel-loads of salt are extracted from it annually, and sent to the Soudan.

The entrance of the Atlantic to this great district of the desert used to be by a channel to the north of Cape Juby, called Boca Grande. It is formed, says Mr. Mackenzie, between two perpendicular rocks rising about 200 feet above the ocean. The opening is about two and a half miles wide. But for some centuries a sand bar across, varying from ten to thirty feet high, and about 300 yards wide, has been forming, till it has entirely blocked up the mouth of the channel. There is always a strong current setting against the shore from the Atlantic, and in stormy weather it beats furiously upon it. It was this current that in course of time filled up the entrance to El Juf with an accumulation of sand and shingle. All that is now required to allow the mighty ocean once more to penetrate into the heart of Africa is for science and industry to cut through the narrow channel and to protect it with breakwaters. This project has been proposed to the Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain, and has been pressed upon the Government by Sir Bartle Frere and a large number of other intelligent persons. Lord Carnarvon, in receiving a deputation, expressed the belief that if this project were carried out "it would open up a great deal of trade which is suppressed or hardly in existence at all, and would be a means of reclaiming from savagery a great number of tribes leading a most miserable life."

How far this plausible scheme is really practicable remains yet to

be proved. Certain it is that—when the great flood of water broke its way from the north, separating England from the continent, submerging great portions of the north of Europe, and pouring across Arabia, Palestine, and the Sahara of Africa—large tracts of actual lowland and desert were under water. El Juf was *then*, no doubt, a bed of the sea, and remained so for centuries. But science has demonstrated that wide-spread regions of the earth are continually rising above the sea level; and that, for instance, the comparative present sterility of Palestine is attributable to the rising of the land above the water-mark of the sea, to the extent of several inches at least, within the last two thousand years; and so it may possibly be found that a similar phenomenon has taken place even in the basin of the Sahara.

While, however, we throw out this obvious possibility, we earnestly contend that the Government, or at least the Royal Geographical Society, ought to have as careful an examination made of the bed of El Juf as the French Government is actually making for an important rival enterprise on the N.W. of the Sahara.

Captain Roudaire's scheme is similar to that promoted by Mr. Mackenzie. It has been actively taken up by the French Government, which is employing that scientific soldier and a number of engineers on a survey of the Chotts of Tunis and Algeria, and of the nature and character of the passage from the Bay of Cobes, on the coast of Tunis, to the interior. Captain Roudaire's project is to form a great inland sea, between the 30th and 35th deg. of N. lat. and the 5th and 10th deg. of E. alt. Such a sea would not only materially modify the climate of Algeria, changing the character of the sirocco, but it would attract to the coast of the French colony all the commerce of the Soudan and the Sahara. A large elevated map of his scheme was exposed in the late Paris Exhibition, and attracted considerable attention.

It must be admitted, however, that there is a sharp rivalry between the French and English in the matter of commerce with the Soudan. The market will, no doubt, be a great source of wealth to whatever country secures it. The *Année Géographique*, in its last issue, is quite alive to the fact. It points out that Mr. Mackenzie's ultimate aim is the commerce of the Soudan, and it adds that "the merchants of Timbuctoo look upon his project with great satisfaction, and that they are good business men enough to understand all its advantages."

The French are, therefore, busy drawing up counter plans, which may draw to themselves the coveted commerce. They are planning not only an inland sea, but they even talk of a rail-

road from Algiers to Timbuctoo, and of coupling those two points together by telegraphic lines.

Much as we should rejoice to see the markets of the Soudan brought within fifteen or twenty days of Manchester by water, or within a few hours of the Manchester, Liverpool, and London Exchanges by telegraph—much as we should rejoice to hear of a new life and energy inspired into our depressed Lancashire factories by the development of a new and inexhaustible trade with the Soudan and Central Africa—much more should we rejoice and praise God for the opening up by means of commerce of new hopes and new prospects for the evangelisation by the Church of this hitherto locked-up portion of the globe.

V. We have touched on the services that commerce may render to the Church. Science and philanthropy are also her hand-maidens. The important position taken up by science in direct reference to Africa may be seen by a bare enumeration of the following learned societies, nearly all of which have sprung into existence within the last few years. They all propose either directly to establish stations, or to promote and encourage their establishment in various parts of the African continent.

1. "African Association," founded 1788, now part of the Royal Geographical Society.

2. "The International African Association," founded in 1876, at Brussels. Its expedition is at present working on towards Lake Tanganyika.

3. "The Italian National Association for the Exploration and Civilisation of Africa." It has sent out four expeditions.

4. "Asociacion Española para la Exploracion del Africa." The King has undertaken to bear the expense of an exploring party on the N.W. coast.

5. "The German Society for the Exploration of Africa," founded 1872 by the German Geographical Associations. It receives Government subvention.

6. "Afrikanische Gesellschaft in Wien," founded in 1876, of which the Heir to the Throne is the protector.

7. "The Hungarian African Association," founded 1877.

8. "The African Colonisation Society of United States," founded in 1817. It has been chiefly instrumental in founding the Republic of Liberia.

9. "Afrikaanische Handelsvereeniging," of Rotterdam.

10. "Geographical Society," of New York.

11. "National Swiss Committee for the Exploration of Central Africa."

12. "The Italian Geographical Society," founded 1869. It has already sent several expeditions into Central Africa.

13. The French Chambers, prior to organising their own

scientific expeditions into Central Africa, have voted 100,000 francs to the Abbé Debaise, to enable him to make a similar expedition to Stanley's across the continent. He is already half-way across.

There are other associations more or less of the same kind, and in addition to them must be taken into account the private enterprise of travellers and scientific explorers of various nationalities, but more especially English, German, and Italian, before we can fully grasp the efforts which are being made by science to open up free communication with Central Africa.

If these expeditions are conducted with prudent consideration for the natives, Africa will by degrees become not only well known, but studded over with stations and crossed by roads, which will bring the ministers of the Gospel into comparatively easy communication with the people.

VI. To the explorations undertaken in the name of science may be added the services which various philanthropic societies render to the Church by opening up the interior of Africa. They are unfortunately, the organisations of fragmentary and contradictory forms of Christianity; still, they promote civilisation, social order, and security, when they form settlements in the interior.*

VII. The second great obstacle in the way of the evangelisation of Africa is the slave trade. It covers the whole continent, excepting the British and French possessions, as with a running ulcer.

Europe herself has been deeply guilty in respect to the African slave trade. Her commerce in human flesh arose out of the demand for labour in the newly-discovered continent of America. The Carib populations of the West Indies were soon worked out and destroyed. Then began the slave trade with Africa. Sir John Hawkins, in 1562, was the first Englishman to embark in it. There sprang up much rivalry between the Dutch, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the English. In 1713 England engaged by the Treaty of Utrecht to furnish 4800 negroes annually to Spanish America for thirty years. No pen can

* Nearly all the Protestant Missioners, however, are on the coasts. There may be a dozen in the interior. They have now established missions on lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyassa. The Church Missionary Society, which dispensed last year an income of £220,000, complains bitterly that not one clergyman of the Church of England responded to their appeal for missionaries for Victoria Nyanza, whereas offers came in great number from officers of the navy and from other professions. From a careful analysis of the last reports published by the various English and Scotch Missionary Societies, it appears that they have 248 stations, 354 clergymen, and 599 lay teachers, in Africa, chiefly on the coasts; the income they spend in Africa does not fall far short of £200,000 a year.

adequately describe the horrors of this trade. Crowded between decks and in the holds of ships, freights of from 1000 to 1500 men and women used to be packed together. Thousands, millions, died of disease, heat, and hunger, and were thrown into the sea. The survivors were sometimes fed upon the flesh of the deceased, which was cooked for them to eat.

The Parliamentary records show that it was no uncommon thing for a merchant to clear a profit of £30,000 upon one cargo of slaves. They were bought for £4 each, and sold for £50. From 1792 to 1806 upwards of 3,500,000 Africans were torn away from their country. England obtained a supremacy in the slave trade. It is estimated that between thirty and forty millions have been forcibly reduced to slavery by European and Christian nations.

Freighted with curses was the bark that bore
The spoilers of the Western Guinea shore;
Heavy with groans of anguish blew the gales
That swelled that fatal bark's returning sails:
Loud and perpetual o'er the Atlantic's waves,
For guilty ages rolled the tide of slaves:
A tide that knew no fall, no turn, no rest—
Constant as day and night from east to west,
Still widening, deepening, swelling in its course
With boundless ruin and resistless force.

The sense of England finally rose against this accursed trade, and it was abolished by Act of Parliament, March 25, 1807. In this she followed the example of Austria and of France, who had forbidden it by law, respectively in 1782 and 1794. England, however, has nobly proved the sincerity of her repentance by the part she has taken, and the expediture of men and money she has made, during the last seventy years in putting down the slave trade. Nevertheless, it is still carried on to an extent that is frightful and terrible.

Sir Bartle Frere (p. 17 of his Blue Book Correspondence, 1872-3) states that "the Superior of the Mission Convent of the Central African Vicariate Apostolic estimates the annual drain from Africa consequent on slavery at 1,000,000." This includes the hundreds of thousands who die on the way. The lowest calculations estimate the present destruction of liberty and life in Africa at 500,000 annually. With whom, it may be asked, is this trade carried on? With the more powerful and more civilised races in the Soudan, with Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Arabia, and even with Afghanistan. Till quite recently, if she does not still secretly continue to do so, Portugal has regularly supplied Madagascar with African slaves.

Sir S. Baker thought that he had succeeded in putting a stop

to the slave trade on the Nile. His work on "The Albert Nyanza, and Explorations of the Nile Sources" gives the fullest account of the trade in all its horrors at Khartoum. We have not space to enter fully upon this subject; but we may repeat what Dr. Schweinfürth positively asserts in his "Heart of Africa." He says that the trade has *not* been stopped. It has only been diverted from the river to the desert. In the Eastern Soudan, with Khartoum as a centre, at least 25,000 human beings are enslaved and driven annually towards Egypt and the north. It is said that no trade can be abolished which produces a net profit of over 30 per cent.; but the slave trade still often yields more than 100 per cent. Nothing can be done on a large scale for the conversion of Africa till this trade is abolished. It makes savages, cannibals, of the people. It stands in the way of all progress. Commerce, science, and philanthropy may establish stations and trace out thoroughfares; they may prove to the African that the white man is his friend; but they are powerless to destroy this trade. Dr. Schweinfürth says that slave labour is necessary; but he proposes to supersede it by the more efficient labour of Chinese coolies, whom he would introduce into Africa for that purpose. The scheme is visionary and full of mischief. It would be to heap one Paganism upon another, and to provoke a war of extermination. We must rather look to the steady and combined action of the Powers of Europe upon the Mahometan races, who create the chief demand, to their eventually bringing about alliances among the African tribes in defence of freedom.

One more observation. Islamism has won its way in the Soudan, and on the east and west coasts, not only by the sword, but by the doctrine that every Moslem is a freeman and incapable of slavery. And yet, while it permits its adherents to enslave the Pagan and the Christian alike, it protects the slave by laws and customs which render the condition of even a Moslem's slave preferable to that of the Christian's. Let the Christian nations of Europe become the vindicators of African freedom without distinction, and they will wipe out the blot which one of the Roman Pontiffs called "the opprobrium of the Christian name," and commend themselves to the African by a more persuasive creed than that of the Moslems.

VIII. We come at last to the work of the Catholic missionary in Africa. It would be interesting to examine into the causes of the decay of the Church in Egypt, with its 20,000 anchorites—of the Church in Abyssinia, which was restored and all but firmly replanted by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century—of the Church of North Africa, with its 3000 towns and villages and its 560 episcopal sees—the Church that produced Tertullian,

Cyprian, and Augustine. It has been said of them that they fell away because they were not missionary Churches; we have, however, neither time nor space in this article to probe the causes of these great disasters.

Little is known of what the Franciscan pioneers in Africa did in the fourteenth century; probably they did not do much beyond exploring.* The great missionary movement set in with the Portuguese conquests in the fifteenth century, and it continued during the sixteenth, and into the seventeenth, with great success. Dominicans and Jesuits, Franciscans and Capuchins, and secular priests vied with one another in different parts of the coast in a holy rivalry for the conversion of souls. Of the Trinitarians, founded by S. Peter Nolasco, and of the Fathers of Mercy, it is said that from the year 1198 to 1787 they purchased out of slavery 1,200,000 Christians, chiefly in the North of Africa.

In the Portuguese possessions and their neighbourhood the conversion of Africa seemed at one time to be at hand. The Rev. H. Rowley, a Protestant writer, in his work on Africa, speaks thus of the early Portuguese missionaries :

As the Portuguese were at first as zealous for the extension of God's kingdom as for their own aggrandisement, it seemed as though they would be equal to their opportunity, and build up great Christian empires on either side of the continent. The missionary zeal of the Portuguese at this, the best period of their history, was great. No ship was permitted to leave their coasts without being accompanied by one or more priests, and no nation ever had more devoted missionaries. They made the kingdom of Congo the field of their principal efforts, but they also laboured zealously to convert the natives of Loango and Angola. For a time it appeared as though nothing could

* M. Deloncle has shewn conclusively to the Lyons Geographical Society that the Franciscans, Capuchins, and Dominicans, as early as the fourteenth century, had penetrated into the very heart of Africa, and had brought home geographical information, upon which the famous Lyons globe was constructed. They had discovered Lake Chad, and other great inland lakes, and had followed the Nile, the Congo, and the Zambesi. A Franciscan, born in 1305 in Seville, journeyed through Morocco, Senegal, the Soudan, the region of the Shari and Lake Chad, Darfur, Abyssinia, and Nubia. The Portuguese, as is well known, concealed their discoveries from Europe for fear of exciting rivalry; but their discoveries were, no doubt, very important. There are probably at present within the Archives of the Vatican large quantities of accurate information as to the interior of Africa, which should have caused that eminent geographer, Dr. Petermann, to have hesitated before disparaging the services rendered to science by the Catholic Missioners of Africa. Dr. Petermann died 25th September, 1878. Probably no person in this century has done more to promote scientific geography than Petermann. He was editor of the *Mittheilungen*. He is succeeded by Dr. Behm.

withstand the religious energy of the good men who strove for the conversion of Congo. The King was among the first of their converts. No danger appalled them, they shrank from no suffering, and they died willingly in the performance of their duty. This, indeed, may be said of almost all the missionaries, who, for nearly one hundred years, laboured amongst the heathen in those parts of Africa which were brought under the power and influence of Portugal. Though many of them quickly succumbed to fatigue, privation, and disease, others, nothing daunted, filled their places; for the missionary spirit survived among the Portuguese clergy long after it had become extinct in the nation at large. Within fifty years of its discovery the population of Congo had become nominally Christian. The success obtained in Loango and Angola was almost as great.—P. 226.

The Church of Congo was founded in 1484 by the Dominicans. From the year 1491 to 1587 the kings of this country and a great part of the people were Catholic. Native priests were ordained, and even a native bishop was appointed; but the faith languished and died out through the religious coldness and indifference of Portugal and Spain, and from the want of an European clergy to sustain it. We have been furnished with the following facts, recorded by F. Jarric, which show what Europe might have done had she remained faithful to her duty.

The King of Congo, Alvarez I., sent letters by the Portuguese admiral to Sebastian, King of Portugal, earnestly asking for priests: nothing came of it. He then sent an ambassador to Lisbon with the same petition. He received promises and nothing more.

Three years after a bishop was sent out; but after eight months he returned to Portugal, leaving only six priests in the country.

Again an embassy was sent from Congo to Cardinal Henry, then King of Portugal, with a similar petition: but nothing came of it.

Again a petition was sent to Philip II., offering him mines of gold and silver, and sending him presents of gold, and asking in return for a few priests to teach the people. The ship foundered on the coast of Portugal.

Again the King sent an embassy to Portugal with Lopez, a Portuguese, and nobles of the country, offering the mines in exchange for missionaries. The ship was driven by a storm to Mexico, and Lopez was detained there a year by sickness.

Alvarez, thinking his embassy had perished, again sent another ambassador, Pedro Antonio, a native, and Gaspar Diaz, a Portuguese, provided with a similar petition for priests. The ship was taken by the English and wrecked in the Channel. Diaz alone

escaped, went to Madrid, where he met Lopez, and then returned to Congo without having effected anything.

Lopez presented the King of Congo's letters to Philip, but Philip was too much occupied with his war against England, and did nothing.

Meanwhile Alvarez I., the King, died, and was succeeded by his son, Alvarez II. Lopez then went to Rome, as he had been ordered, to Pope Sixtus V., who received him with great charity, and promised to entrust the work of sending out missionaries to Philip, who had inherited the protectorate of the coast of Africa. But Philip ended by doing nothing.

In 1581 a Jesuit from Angola paid the country a visit, and in 1585 another joined him. The Fathers were received with open arms, and laboured with wonderful fruit. They wrote home of the terrible want of priests. They said there were 30,000 towns and villages, and only ten, or at most twelve, priests in all; that many of the towns were entirely Christian, but had never seen a priest, and that in consequence the people knew nothing of their religion, but that they had *eaten salt*, i.e., been baptised. The King, they said, was full of zeal, and did everything in his power to promote religion, but his hands were stayed for want of priests. In 1587 these Jesuit fathers were recalled by their superior to Loando, to which place they belonged, and here the curtain dismally falls over the scene. F. Jarrie, who wrote in 1615, says he had no further information to record on the state of the Church in Congo.

At present we regret to say not only that the Portuguese settlements are in the lowest state of degradation, but that they are positively hostile to the missionary congregations of the Church, whose presence they will not tolerate within their frontiers.

IX. The following are the actual ecclesiastical divisions of the continent:—

1. The Vicariate of Tunis, served by the Capuchins. Bishop, Mgr. Sutter.

2. The Apostolic Prefecture of Tripoli, served by Friars Minor (reformed).

3. The Vicariate Apostolic of Egypt, served by the Franciscans. There are also settled in Egypt Capuchins, a large college and mission of the Lazarists, besides Christian Brothers, Sisters of Charity, and Members of the Society of African Missions, &c. Bishop, Mgr. Ciurcia.

4. The Vicariate Apostolic of Central Africa, served by Veronese Priests, and by Members of the Order of St. Camillus, and others. Bishop, Mgr. Comboni.

5. The Vicariate Apostolic of Abyssinia, served by the

Lazarists and a number of native priests and monks. Bishop, Mgr. Touvier.

6. The Vicariate Apostolic of the Gallas, served by Capuchins. Bishop, Mgr. Massaja.

7. The Prefecture Apostolic of Zanzibar, served by the Congregation of the Holy Ghost.

8. The Prefecture Apostolic of the Seychelles, served by the Capuchins.

9. The Prefecture Apostolic of Madagascar, served by Jesuit Priests and Brothers, in fifteen stations.

10. Prefecture Apostolic of the Malgaches.

11. The Vicariate Apostolic of Natal, served by Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Bishop, Mgr. Jolivet.

12. The Vicariate Apostolic of the Cape, Eastern District, served by secular priests (twelve); a college under care of the Jesuits. Bishop, Right Rev. Dr. Ricards.

13. Prefecture Apostolic of Central Cape, served by the Society of African Missions, twelve priests.

14. The Vicariate Apostolic of the Western Cape, served by secular priests. Bishop, Right Rev. Dr. Leonard.

15. Prefecture Apostolic of Congo, including Damarqualand, served by Congregation of the Holy Ghost.

16. The Vicariate Apostolic of the Two Guineas, served by Congregation of the Holy Ghost. Bishop, Mgr. Le Berre.

17. The Vicariate Apostolic of the Coast of Benin, including the Kingdom of Dahomey, served by the Society of African Missions.

18. The Vicariate Apostolic of Sierra Leone, served by the Congregation of the Holy Ghost.

19. The Vicariate Apostolic of Senegambia, served by the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. There is a college and black priests and sisters here. Bishop, Mgr. Duboin.

20. Prefecture Apostolic of Senegal, served by the Congregation of the Holy Ghost.

21. Prefecture Apostolic of Morocco, served by thirty Spanish Franciscans, in five or six stations.

22. Algeria is divided into an archdiocese and two dioceses, served by 402 priests, seculars and regulars, with a Catholic population of 390,000.

X. A brief notice of the three or four Congregations which have been founded especially for the evangelisation of Africa may be interesting.

1. In 1833 the Council of Baltimore, U.S., called the attention of the Holy See to the activity of the Protestant sects in Sierra Leone and Liberia. In 1840 Dr. Barron, an Irish-American priest, offered himself for the West coast of Africa. He was

consecrated bishop, and started with another Irish priest and a catechist for Liberia. In 1843 M. Des Genettes, of N. D. des Victoires, introduced him to a poor little converted Jew, named Libermann, who, in the midst of sufferings and trials, had founded a congregation of priests for the conversion of the most abandoned people upon earth, the neglected negroes of Africa. Libermann despatched seven priests and three brothers to the Vicariate of the Two Guineas. From that time the *Congregation of the Holy Ghost* has grown and spread, in spite of innumerable deaths and every kind of vicissitude, on the East as well as the West coasts of Africa.

It now possesses a number of native black priests; other natives are pursuing their theological studies in Africa; and a community of over thirty black sisters, dedicated to S. Joseph, is rendering immense service to the cause of religion on the West coast.

The "Life of the Ven. F. Libermann" is one of the most touching biographies we know.

2. The *Society of African Missions* was founded in 1856 by Mgr. de Marion Brésillac, at Lyons. This prelate had been Vicar-Apostolic at Coimbatour. While kneeling one day at the tomb of the Apostles in Rome he felt inspired to devote himself to the most abandoned of races, and conceived the idea of founding a Society for the African Missions. In 1859 he started for Sierra Leone with five companions. Within a few months the whole band was carried off by fever, with the exception of one lay brother. The little society was thus reduced to M. Planque, the present superior, and one or two youths. The example of the heroes whose lives had been suddenly taken, far from daunting their courage, did but inspire them with a new zeal. The Society increased in numbers; and though during the last twenty years they have lost over thirty martyrs to their charity, they have considerably extended the field of their operations in Africa. They have now two colleges in France—one in Lyons and another in Clermont-Ferrand—and they are actually engaged in opening an Apostolic school in Cork, under the care of F. O'Haire, for such youths in Ireland and England as God may inspire to join their heroic band.

3. Another Society instituted for the conversion of Africa is the *Institute for the Missions of Nigritia*, founded in Verona by Mgr. Comboni, and under the patronage of Cardinal Canossa. Mgr. Comboni is Vicar-Apostolic of Central Africa, a Vicariate created by Gregory XVI., in 1834. In extent it is larger than the whole of Europe, comprising Nubia and the Soudan to the Two Guineas, and reaching as far south as the Mountains of the Moon. Its population is supposed to be 100,000,000. This

mission was begun by the famous F. Ryllo, S.J., who died at Khartoum in 1848. From 1846 to 1861 more than forty missionaries, most of whom were Austrians, laboured and died in this great Vicariate. From 1861 to 1872 the Franciscans had charge of it; but out of fifty who were sent out to it as many as twenty-two died within a very short time, and the remainder, with the exception of three or four who stayed at Khartoum, returned to Egypt or to Europe completely broken in health. In 1867, Mgr. Comboni founded in Verona the *Institute for the Missions of Nigritia*, and in 1872 another Institute for Sisters, called the *Pious Mothers of Nigritia*. He has established for both these institutes, as well as for the Sisters of S. Joseph of the Apparition, houses of acclimatisation in Cairo, and, in consequence of this precaution, he has lost no priests and only two or three sisters during the last six years.

At present Mgr. Comboni has nine establishments, of which the chief are two in Berber, two large ones in Khartoum, and two in Obeid, Kardofan. The difficulties of these missions are enormous. They are in the midst of Mahometans; the Government of Egypt and of Egyptian Soudan forbids Catholic proselytism; the Koran forbids all religious discussion and hinders all attempts at instruction. Thus fanaticism on the one hand, and a general corruption of morals on the other, oppose the most formidable barriers to the advance of the Catholic Church in Nigritia.

The plan, however, which is pursued by Mgr. Comboni is one, and indeed the only one, which has received the full approbation of the Holy See. He gets possession of young boys and girls, places them in houses under the priests and sisters respectively, educates them, teaches them trades, then marries them, and settles them upon land which he has bought for the purpose, at a distance from Mahometan populations. The plan is exceedingly costly, for everything has to be found and paid for, and the Mahometans will not employ Catholic artisans, nor give them any assistance, even if they are starving. Until the Catholic communities are large enough to be self-sufficing the charges upon the missions and upon the charity of Europe will be very considerable. Nevertheless, there is no other effective plan that can be pursued in the midst of Mahometans.

4. The zealous and indefatigable Archbishop of Algiers, Mgr. Lavigerie, has founded a Congregation for the conversion of the Arabs of the Algerian Sahara and for Central Africa. He has now between twenty and thirty missions, of which ten are established in the midst of unbelievers in the great Kabylia and among the Arabs of the Sahara and of Tunis. These missionaries live like the natives: "We have given up," they say, "European

customs, and have become Arabs and Kabyles. We have adopted the dress, the language, the customs, and the mode of life of these people. Thus *Arabised* we start in threes to found a station and to live in the midst of the tribes." A company of three of these intrepid missionaries started for Timbuctoo about three years ago. They were all murdered, or martyred, within a few miles of that city.

The Archbishop of Algiers, who has now the title of Delegate Apostolic of the Sahara, has recently equipped two missionary expeditions to South Central Africa. One directed to Victoria Nyanza, and the other to Ujiji, on Tanganyika Nyanza. They left Zanzibar some months ago with 300 porters and provisions for two years. News has been received recently of the death of two of the ten missionaries, of the plunder of their provisions, and of their desertion by their porters. Nothing daunted, however, they have re-formed, and having been re-equipped from Zanzibar they are pursuing their Apostolic journey. Mgr. Lavigerie is also endeavouring to form another centre, at Kabebe, on the 10° S. lat.

We rejoice to learn that during the last year the Jesuits have volunteered to undertake the mission of the Upper Zambesi—the chief scene of Livingstone's explorations. The mission has been confided to the English Province, but it is placed under the care of F. Depelchin, a Belgian missionary, and we understand that it will be manned by twelve priests and brothers, probably of English, Belgian, and German nationalities. Grahamstown, where the Jesuits have charge of a college, will form their base of operations; and after a period of needful acclimatisation they will start up the country to form, by degrees, at first, three stations in the Zambesi district. We do not dwell longer upon this important accession to the missionary strength of Africa because the whole subject of Central Africa will be treated in a future number of this Review by one who has had the advantage of personal experience.

Lastly, we hear that the Society for African Missions is prepared to undertake an inland mission among the natives to the N.W. of Natal, and that arrangements have been already made to that effect with Mgr. Jolivet, the Vicar Apostolic of that district.

XI. This rapid survey of the Catholic resources of Africa brings us to this conclusion. Here is a vast, unknown country, with an enormous population of intelligent human beings, having an area more than 240 times the size of England and Wales, dependent for salvation upon the same number of bishops as form the Province of Westminster, and upon less than half our number of priests; or, if we exclude Algeria with its three Bishops and

402 priests, Lower Egypt with its 190 priests, and the Island of Madagascar with its 34 Jesuit missionaries, we may say that here is a continent, three or four times the extent of Europe, peopled by some 180 millions, and dependent upon about 200 priests. Worse than this: these priests are chiefly upon the mere fringe of the continent; they are scattered along immense coasts, at intervals of space in which there are, even on the coast, millions of souls unknown and uncared for, while the vast interior is teeming with many more millions, who will remain plunged in utter darkness until Catholic charity shall permanently settle down amongst them.

And yet the Africans, where they have not fallen under the power of Mahomet, are easily evangelised. They have many excellent and touching qualities. Many of their superstitions are but the corruption and degradation of a primitive revelation. Their mind tends to belief in the supernatural, and towards the doctrines of religion. They are patient, long-suffering, and, when they have given their confidence, affectionate and faithful. In India and China the missionary finds himself face to face with religions based on systems of philosophy, having recognised founders and able apostles and exponents. In Africa he has none of these difficulties, except among Moslems; he has to deal with masses of superstition and inconsistent prejudices, and tenets for which no authority, founder, or apostle is ever quoted. We learn from travellers who have crossed the interior, and much more from the few scattered missionaries on the West coast, that kings and their tribes are ready to place themselves under instruction, and that some of them are passionately earnest to receive a knowledge of the faith. Mgr. Le Berre's, F. Duparquet's, and other missionaries' letters are full of touching interest in this respect.

Where, then, is the Catholic who refuses light and help to these millions of his brethren? How long shall we remain deaf, stone-deaf, to their claim upon our souls? The God who made us dependent upon those who preached the Gospel of salvation to our souls has made them dependent upon us. What, then, can we do? We can do several things.

1. We can help and encourage those heroic men who devote their fresh life to the conversion of Africa. The Jesuit Fathers will require some £8000 to make the foundations they propose in the Zambesi district. Assist them. Assist the little college humbly beginning in Cork; and aid the Congregations engaged in Africa; contribute to the Association of the Propagation of the Faith.

2. We can promote vocations to foreign missions by providing means for their cultivation. Men are apt to say that the grace

of Divine vocation to the Apostle's life is lacking. The lack is on man's side, not on the side of grace. The last ten years have proved that the vocations are in excess of the means for developing them. We are cold, indifferent, unbelieving. We refuse to stint ourselves that we may be able to co-operate with God in providing education, and then deceive ourselves by saying there are no vocations.

Missioners for Africa should have a special training. They must learn to engage in manual labour. Even the bishops on the West coast labour with their hands. This is necessary to prove to the blacks that labour is honourable, and no sign of slavery. They should learn some art or trade, even as S. Paul did, and be able to teach it. They should obtain a knowledge of medicine, which is one of the most powerful means of gaining access to the people, and of inspiring confidence. They should know music: the blacks have five or six different musical instruments, and are passionately fond of music. The white man goes to Africa with an enormous prestige in his favour; much is expected of him by the black man; certain kinds of human knowledge and skill, as well as firmness and kindness of character, are, humanly speaking, essential to the success of the missionary in Africa.

3. Another thought should stimulate us. Hitherto France has taken the giant's share in missionary enterprise. But we know not how long she may be able to continue to pour forth her resources on missionary lands. The future of France is uncertain. Should her Church come to be disendowed, and it appears not improbable that it may be disendowed at no distant date, her great zeal for missionary work will be severely checked and thrown in upon her wants at home. Meantime, the English-speaking Churches of the world should be rising to the height of their great vocation, and actively preparing to take part in the missionary work of the Church.

XII. It may be objected that Europe cannot be expected to supply priests for ever to the whole of Africa. This is true: but she must do as Palestine did—send out Apostles and missioners until they have founded everywhere native priesthoods. From the time of the Apostles this has been the history of the Church in every country in Europe. The Holy See, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and again in the nineteenth, has not ceased to urge upon her Bishops the formation everywhere of native agencies, consisting of priests, sisters, and catechists. This is one of the two chief reasons for setting Bishops over Vicariates, as the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda has declared.

For many generations to come European priests will be needed as pioneers of the Christian Church throughout Africa; and for

centuries they will be required to guide and sustain it, even after many natives shall have entered the priesthood.

Still, we are convinced that the only hopeful, promising, and effective way of procedure in respect to Africa is that which may be summed up in the words, *the conversion of Africa by the Africans*. Christian black settlements ought to be attempted all over Africa, even if need be, as among the Mahometans, after the difficult and costly manner followed by Mgr. Comboni. The task is full of hardship, but no other system will avail. Why should not the example given by the American Colonisation Society in founding Liberia be followed by us in other parts of Africa? It would not be difficult to find a better climate and a more favourable situation. Liberia was settled a few years ago, chiefly by American and West Indian blacks. It is now an independent Negro Republic, extending 500 miles on the North Guinea coast and about 100 miles into the interior. Its population is made up of about 20,000 emigrant blacks and their descendants, and of about 600,000 aborigines of neighbouring tribes, and of all parts of Africa. Catholicism is excluded, but education and a certain kind of Christianity after the type of the Wesleyan sects has become dominant. It would be by no means impossible to form a Catholic settlement in South Africa on more favourable conditions than those enjoyed by Liberia. But the present is not the occasion for the consideration of such details. We may, however, be permitted to conclude with an extract bearing on this subject from a lecture we delivered in New York in 1872, on occasion of taking over the first missionaries from S. Joseph's to the American blacks.

We have come to evangelise the coloured people in America. But our mission does not terminate with them. We are travelling through America to that great, unexplored, unconverted Continent of Africa. We have come to gather an army on our way, to conquer Africa for the Cross. God has his designs upon that vast land. It may be a thousand years behind our civilisation of to-day, but in less than a thousand years Africa may become as civilised as Europe or America.

The mission of the English-speaking races is to the unconverted, and especially to the uncivilised, nations of the world. God calls upon you for co-operation; his plans are prepared from afar. The branch torn away from the parent stem in Africa by our ancestors was carried to America—carried away by Divine permission in order that it might be engrafted upon the tree of the Cross. It will return in part to its own soil, not by violence or deportation, but willingly, and borne on the wings of faith and charity. Before many years are passed I hope to see the members of S. Joseph's Society at work in Africa, aided, multiplied, and extending their labours through the generous and loving co-operation of coloured people from this country. Catechists, sisters, and missionaries will arise among them. Ethiopia will at last

lift up her head, and clap her hands and bow down and be converted to her God.

Whether it will be practically possible to organise bands of the Catholic Africano-Americans for the settlement and conversion of Africa, as their Protestant brethren, who sail to Liberia in numbers varying annually from 200 to 500, are organised for that very purpose, remains to be proved. Large funds are required, hard heads and generous hearts to direct and carry out such an enterprise; but genuine Faith, Hope, and Charity are divine and creative forces; and we must look for great results where they exist and are brought into energetic action.

HERBERT, Bishop of Salford.

ART. X.—PARENTAL AUTHORITY IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.

In re AGAR-ELLIS. *The Times*, August 7th, and November 25th, 1878.

IN the following pages, it is not intended to do more than indicate the legal bearings of a case which has lately occupied public attention. To Catholics, mixed-marriage cases and their legal consequences must, in this country especially, be invariably interesting and important. The English Courts of law have, theoretically, no religion. But their principles and procedure are frequently grounded in a latent hypothesis that they are the exponents of the highest moral and revealed law. No doubt, it was once assumed that the law of God was a part of the law of England. This assumption has been gradually narrowed and abandoned. But there still remain in our legal proceedings traces of theories and of rules which, unless they could be considered as dictated by a law higher than any human law, must be simply set down as barbarous and tyrannical. And barbarous and tyrannical, under existing circumstances, they undoubtedly are.

It is an established rule of law that, in general, a father is entitled to educate his children in the principles of his own faith. So long as he confines himself to the world of speculation, no matter how repugnant his doctrines may be to a Christian judge, it seems that he cannot be deprived of the custody of his children. But if he adds vicious practice to erroneous principle, if he constitutes himself an apostle of immorality, if the views which he holds and propagates are such as tend to subvert the scheme of civilised society, the law must, in the

paramount interests of the community, step in and save the world from a further extension of such destructive opinions.

The celebrated case, in which the poet Shelley was deprived of the custody of his infant children, is a remarkable instance of this doctrine. The irreligious opinions of the poet were notorious. The judge was Lord Eldon, a man by no means inclined to regard with indifference eccentricity in religious opinions; yet he expressly founded his judgment on the immorality of Shelley's life; attaching, at the same time, some weight to its being the logical sequence of his theoretical principles. But it is only as a last resort that the Court of Chancery in such cases feels itself compelled to break the natural bond between father and child; and, in the common interests of the infants and of society, to abrogate the parental authority. If Lord Eldon, a Tory Churchman in 1817, relied rather on the practically injurious tendency of Shelley's example, than on the open atheism expressed in his writings, we cannot suppose that, in modern days, when toleration is extended to every phase of belief and disbelief, any harsher view could prevail on the subject of purely speculative opinions.

The interests—and we might almost say the material interests—of the children themselves, or the concern which society takes in their being properly educated, are the foundation of this jurisdiction; and, in the absence of immorality and cruelty on the part of the father, the cases are very rare in which his absolute authority has been infringed or curtailed.

While thus the father's position is regarded as beyond the reach of the Court, we shall find that the natural claims of the mother have been wholly ignored. Women have not been favoured by English laws. On her marriage the separate existence of a woman is at an end, her individuality being merged in that of her husband; he becomes entitled to all her personal property, and to her real estate during the marriage. She cannot be heir to her child so long as a single relative on the father's side to the last traceable cousin remains to intercept her inheritance. In the management or education of her children she has no right beyond what her husband benignly permits. By the common law of England the position of a mother in respect to the nurture and education of her children is very little different from that of a hired nurse. And even on the death of her husband she cannot assume control as against the lawfully appointed guardians.

Authority forgets a dying king,

but that of a husband survives to bar, in some cases, a mother from the exercise of her most cherished functions. No doubt the extreme rigour of the law has been some-

what modified by recent legislation, to which we shall presently advert; but still it is a fortunate circumstance for the women of England that in their family relations their position is not in general dependent upon strict legal right. The harmonious working of the household cannot be secured by law; that can only be effected by much mutual concession and forbearance, and by the observance of higher principles of morality than are the outcome of jurisprudence.

The latest illustration of the doctrine of the wife's legal extinction has been furnished by the Agar-Ellis case; and our apology for dwelling on its painful details must be that it brings into startling prominence the conflict between the law, as declared by the Courts, and the sentiment of natural justice, which is all we have to fall back upon when deprived of the law of Christ. It possesses a further and more practical claim on the attention of the Catholics of the United Kingdom, inasmuch as it is the latest and the strongest enunciation of the law on a subject which intimately concerns the interests of many of them—the religious education of the children of mixed marriages.

The facts of this case are shortly these:—In the year 1863 Mr. Agar-Ellis was paying his addresses to the Hon. Miss Stonor, a daughter of Lord Camoys. He was a Protestant; she, we need not say, was a member of an old Catholic family; and, on his making a proposal of marriage, he was informed that, according to the law of the Catholic Church, no Catholic was allowed to marry a Protestant except upon the terms of entering into an express agreement that all the children of the marriage should be brought up in the Catholic faith; and that unless he gave such an undertaking the marriage could not take place. This Mr. Agar-Ellis at first refused to comply with; but ultimately, after an interval of nearly two years, he made the required concession, and the marriage was solemnized on the faith of this promise. There was some conflict of evidence as to whether this promise was not subject to some private understanding between the husband and wife that it would not be rigidly enforced. That it was openly made was not denied by Mr. Agar-Ellis, and both the Vice-Chancellor and the Lords Justices assumed it to be, at all events for the purpose of the judgment, “an absolute, unconditional, and unqualified promise.” That there ever was any such private understanding we consider extremely improbable; and this conclusion is fortified by the subsequent history of the case. There were four children issue of the marriage. The first, a son, was baptised by a Catholic priest, according to the account of Mr. Agar-Ellis, against his wishes, and died at an early age. The other three children—the wards in the present action—were daughters, and, with the exception of the second, were baptised

as Catholics. At the date of the first application to the Court in August last the age of the eldest girl was twelve and a half, that of the youngest nine and a half years. An absolutely accurate history of the influences to which these children were subjected is beyond the reach of the most painstaking inquiry; but it appears most probable that they experienced from their earliest years the deplorable results of their father's rash promise and subsequent retraction. Baptised in one faith, received into another, alternately instructed in each, their young minds were from the dawn of intelligence made acquainted with the bitterness of controversy. They were compelled by their father to accompany him to the Protestant Church on Sundays, while the mother's influence was allowed to work on their plastic minds during the remainder of the week. It is not difficult to foresee the side to which victory must inevitably incline as the result of this training; and accordingly we feel no surprise at the ultimate *dénouement*, when the little band on a certain Sunday morning broke into open revolt, and resolutely refused to accompany their father to Church.

This incident led to the initiation of legal proceedings on the part of both the father and the mother; and, thenceforward, their history passed into another phase. But as the record of those childish years is of the utmost importance in forming a correct idea of the case, we give the Lord Justice's account of it in his own words:—

After the marriage and immediately after the birth of the first child, the husband was minded to retract that promise, and break that engagement, and from that time he has adhered, without the slightest wavering, to his determination that the children should be brought up in his faith. The mother conceived herself to be warranted in disregarding her husband's express and positive wishes and commands as to the religious education of her daughters; and availed herself of all the opportunities afforded by the relations between a mother and daughters, who had never been separated, not only to impress their minds with the great cardinal truths and the religious and moral duties common to both modes of faith, but to instruct and indoctrinate them, so far as they were capable of receiving them, with the peculiar tenets constituting the characteristic differences of her own Church, and to accustom them, as a matter of religious duty, to the performance of certain religious acts, the practical expression of those peculiar tenets, such as the adoration of the Virgin, the invocation of patron saints, and the practice of confession. It is not denied that this was done without the knowledge of the husband; except that he must, it is suggested, have known that these girls of tender years were in the habit of saying their morning and evening prayers at their mother's knee. Under the influence of this teaching, the children at last broke

into open revolt against the father, and positively refused to obey his directions to go, as they had previously done, to his Church.

Some may see in this conduct of the mother nothing but organised hypocrisy and systematic deceit ; while, on the other hand, they will consider that the father, in thus retracting his promise, was justified by an overpowering zeal for the eternal welfare of his children. Others will probably excuse the mother for her disobedience as a wife on the double ground of the purity of her motives, and the moral claim which she undoubtedly possessed, by virtue of her husband's ante-nuptial promise. But to both alike the children must be objects of unqualified pity. Introduced from their tenderest years into an atmosphere of polemical strife, exposed to the influence of forces urging them in opposite directions, whose tendency is to produce a resultant of indifference, they must be regarded as deprived, by no fault of theirs, of the child's inheritance of unquestioning faith.

We have seen that both parents sought the aid of the legal tribunals. Mrs. Agar-Ellis presented a petition alleging that her husband had threatened to send her children away in order to be educated by a Protestant clergyman in the country, and praying that such directions might be given for their custody and education as should prevent them from being deprived of the society and maternal care of the petitioner, and permit them to be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion. This petition was dismissed. Mr. Agar-Ellis constituted his children wards of Court, and took out a summons for directions with reference to their education. Upon this application Vice-Chancellor Malins made an order declaring that the children should be brought up as Protestants, and granted an injunction restraining the mother "from taking, or procuring, or permitting to be taken the infants, or any of them to confession, or to any church, or place of worship where service was performed otherwise than according to the rites of the Church of England."

This order was the subject of an immediate appeal ; but, as the Long Vacation was imminent, the case had to stand over until the reassembling of the Courts in November. When the case came before the Court of Appeal, the order of the Vice-Chancellor was affirmed in every particular, the prefatory declaration, however, as to the religion in which the children should be brought up being omitted. This omission is significant. In one aspect it means that the Court, affirming the principle of the father's absolute authority, declined, even on his suggestion, and by his desire, to make an order irrevocably limiting his control over the spiritual affairs of his children ; and avoided the appearance of interfering with even the fickle exercise of his parental authority. Its real practical meaning was probably that the Court, guessing

to how great an extent the teaching of the mother had prevailed, wished to place no obstacle in the way of his adopting conciliatory relations towards his wife as to the education of the children. Its omission is, at all events, the strongest assertion which the Court could make that the authority of a father over his child's religion is absolute, unlimited, and uncontrolled.

The following extracts from the judgment of Lord Justice James, in which the other members of the Court (Baggallay and Thesiger, L.J.J.) concurred, will give an accurate idea of the difficulties which arose, and the points which were decided :

It was conceded by counsel, and, in truth, it is on principle and authority settled so as to be beyond question or argument, that the ante-nuptial promise is, in point of law, absolutely void. The husband had in the plainest terms expressed his determination so to treat it ; and to assert and act upon his legal rights, the performance of which he is entitled to say he conceives to be his paramount paternal duty.

But the main argument before us has been, and has properly been, not on any question of conflict of rights between husband and wife, for there can be no such conflict as to the education of children, but as between the father and the children themselves, or as between the father and the law, which is bound to protect the children from any abuse of the parental power. It is conceded that by the law of this country the father is undoubtedly charged with the education of his children. The right of the father to the custody and control of his children is one of the most sacred of rights. He may have forfeited such parental right by moral misconduct, or by the profession of immoral or irreligious opinions deemed to unfit him to have the charge of any child at all ; or he may have abdicated such right by a course of conduct which would make a resumption of his authority capricious and cruel towards the children.

We are asked in this case ourselves privately to examine the children, and to satisfy ourselves by that examination that these children of the ages I have mentioned have, to use the language of "*Stourton v. Stourton*," "received religious impressions to a depth and extent rendering dangerous and improper any attempt at important changes in them ;" and so to satisfy ourselves that the father is about to abuse his parental authority by seeking to disturb those religious convictions. With all respect to the eminent judges who decided "*Stourton v. Stourton*," we should decline to examine a child of such very tender years (ten years) as the child there was. The children here are, or at all events the eldest is, considerably older than the boy there was. But that case was the case of a testamentary guardian, a case of mere and pure trust, which is essentially under the jurisdiction

of the Court, and under a jurisdiction always exercised with the widest judicial discretion. And the same is to be said of all the cases in which the Court has acted in the like manner. In some of the cases cited to us, the judges in Ireland did examine the children, even where the father was the respondent, but in the result left the father in possession of his legal right. And even in those cases a ground was laid for the jurisdiction by reason of the father's previous conduct in respect of the children's education bringing it within the category of abdication. It is not, in our judgment, necessary further to examine those cases, because, however weighty, and they are very weighty, the considerations expressed in "*Stourton v. Stourton*" and the other cases, they are weighty considerations for the father to deal with without being subject to appeal to, or revision by, this Court. If a good and honest father, taking into his consideration the past teaching to which his children have been, in fact, subject, and the effect of that teaching on their minds, and the risk of unsettling their convictions, comes to the conclusion that it is right and for their welfare, temporal and spiritual, that he should take means to counteract that teaching, and undo its effect, he is by law the proper and sole judge of that; and we have no more right to sit on appeal from the conclusion which he has conscientiously and honestly arrived at than we should have to sit on appeal from his conclusion as to the particular church his children should attend, the particular sermons they should hear, or the particular religious books to be placed in their hands. He is quite as likely to judge rightly as we are to judge for him. At all events, the law has made him, and not us, the judge; and we cannot interfere with him in his honest exercise of the jurisdiction which the law has confided to him.

We come now to the consideration of the last point, and the only point on which we have any doubt—viz., whether the Court should interfere at all; whether the Court, recognising the father's undoubted authority as master of his own house, as king and ruler in his own family, can be called on by him to be ancillary to the exercise of his jurisdiction; and whether he ought not to be left to enforce his commands by his own authority within his own domain. And that was throughout the argument, and at the close of it, the very strong inclination of our opinion. We fear and feel a difficulty about the Court's enforcing an order of a private person which it disclaims the right of examining. But it is not a question between the father and the Court; it is a question of the wards. And being of opinion that the father has retained his right to direct the religious education of his children, and the father being minded that they should not be taken to mass, confession, or the like, the causing or permitting them to be so taken, in direct disobedience to the father's commands, is a wrong to them as well as to him.

It will be observed that there were three important points decided in this case:

1. That an agreement entered into before marriage by a husband to relinquish to his wife the religious education of their children is absolutely void.

2. That while the father is alive he is the sole judge whether danger is to be apprehended in disturbing religious impressions already acquired; and therefore that in such a case the Court will not seek an interview with the children in order to satisfy itself as to the state of their religious convictions.

3. That in cases of conflict the Court will actively assist a father, whose marital and parental authority have proved unequal to the task of asserting their supremacy, in the accomplishment of his objects.

To each of these points we wish to address a few observations; premising that our criticism must not be read as a protest against the correctness or justice of the particular judgment, whose legal efficacy we are not at liberty to question.

Two objections have been made to the binding force of a promise on the part of a husband to allow his wife to bring up their children in a religion different from his: one, which applies only to verbal agreements, is founded on the Statute of Frauds; the other, extending as well to a provision in a marriage settlement as to a mere promise by word of mouth, rests on the general policy of the Law. The Statute of Frauds enacts that all contracts in consideration of marriage which are not signed by the parties to be bound thereby shall be void: but much weight is not to be attached to this objection, since the statute obviously relates to contracts as to property, not conditions as to conduct. Moreover, the only effect of admitting its validity would be, in future arrangements of this nature, to substitute a sheet of paper for the husband's word of honour.

The second objection is, however, more formidable. It depends on the view which the law takes of the paternal relation, namely, that a father is clothed with certain rights and duties with reference to the education of his children; and that these are conferred on him not so much for his personal advantage, or gratification, as for the benefit of his children—that, in legal parlance, they are a trust as well as a power, and that it is contrary to public policy to permit him irrevocably to divest himself of any portion of this sacred trust. We have endeavoured to state the objection as forcibly as possible; for, conforming, as this view of the paternal relation certainly does to the highest principles of morality, it is worthy of attentive examination whether, in the practical complications of life, the objection can be sustained in its entirety as a legal doctrine.

We know that, as a matter of fact, the religious training of a large majority of children falls into the hands of their mother;

that the father is frequently ill-qualified to fulfil that duty ; and that, practically, from incapacity, want of leisure, or indisposition, he delegates to his wife what "public policy" forbids him to make arrangements for beforehand. The following observations of Vice Chancellor Malins, occurring in his judgment in the case of *Andrews v. Salt*, imply that the doctrine was not regarded as definitively settled so lately as the year 1873.

If a Christian father were to undertake that his children should not be brought up as Christians, that would be a matter of the highest possible consideration ; but the question whether they should be brought up as Roman Catholic Christians, or as Protestant Christians is a comparatively subordinate question ; and surely it is a question on which the feelings of the mother as well as the feelings of the father are to be consulted : and if they enter into an arrangement of that kind, which is founded on honour and justice, I confess I am unable to see any principle on which this Court would not give effect to it.

Public policy, says an eminent judge,* is "a vague and unsatisfactory term, and calculated to lead to uncertainty and error when applied to the decision of legal rights." In this we entirely agree, and wish that some more satisfactory reason could be given in support of this branch of the case than that such a contract is against public policy. We also find that in several of the cases the judges have examined the evidence with the utmost care in order to discover whether a promise had in fact been made. Now if the promise had been absolutely void, and we presume that this is the effect of a violation of public policy, there would have been no necessity for this supererogatory labour. In the case of *Andrews v. Salt*, to which we have already referred, Lord Justice Mellish makes use of the words :—

If after the death of the father circumstances happen, which, in the opinion of the Court, make it for the benefit of a child to be educated in the religion of the mother, and the question arises whether the father had so acted that he ought to be held in this Court to have waived or abandoned his right to have his child educated in his own religion, the fact that the father before marriage promised the mother that girls, the issue of the marriage, should be educated in her religion, is a circumstance to which in our opinion weight, and perhaps great weight, ought to be attached ;—

showing very clearly that in his estimation such a promise was not void to all intents and purposes.

But what appears to us a conclusive argument against such an agreement being void as opposed to public policy is furnished by "the Custody of Infants Act, 1873."† For, if the father may bind

* Baron Parke in the case of "*Egerton v. Lord Brownlow*."

† 36 Vict., c. 12, S. 2: "No agreement contained in any separation deed made between the father and mother of an infant or infants shall

himself to relinquish the entire custody and control of his infant children to their mother, including the management of both their temporal and spiritual affairs, surely he may validly surrender to her their spiritual control, which is only a part of that delegation authorised by the Statute. In the case of separation, too, the surrender is absolute and beyond his supervision; whereas, in the other case, he can day by day satisfy his mind that the mother is fulfilling her trust in accordance with the interests of the children. This Act was passed, no doubt, with reference to a special evil; it extended one step farther the merciful protection of Talfourd's Act, and gave to women, compelled to separate themselves from their husbands, additional facilities for retaining, under the order of the Court, the custody of their children; and the opportunity was seized of putting an end to the doctrine of the Courts, enforced in many cases, whereby a provision in a separation deed giving the custody of the children to their mother was deemed to be void as contrary to public policy.* A principle is at an end when it is once infringed; and the Legislature, by coming forward to break down the barrier opposed to justice by this principle in one case, deprived it, one might have supposed, of all efficacy under similar circumstances.

But if we turn to the earliest case in which this subject received ample discussion, we find the judge relying, not so much on the invalidity of the promise, as on the impossibility of enforcing it. He asks:

How could the Court enforce the performance, by the father of the child, of such a contract as is found by the report? Is the Court to separate the child from its father to prevent a violation of the contract? Is the Court to separate the husband and wife, and place the children with the wife, to enable her to educate them in the faith which she professes, and in which the husband contracted the children should be brought up? Who is to provide the funds to educate the child in the religion which the father objects to? Is the Court to pronounce

be held to be invalid by reason only of its providing that the father of such infant or infants shall give up the custody or control thereof to the mother. Provided always, that no Court shall enforce any such agreement, if the Court shall be of opinion that it will not be for the benefit of the infant or infants to give effect thereto."

* It may be well to place the argument before our readers in a somewhat more concise form than it has assumed in the text. In several cases, notably "*Vansittart v. Vansittart*" and "*Hope v. Hope*," such a provision in a separation deed was decided by the Court to be contrary to public policy, and therefore void. Partly on the authority of these cases, partly by the application of the same general principle, it was decided that an ante-nuptial contract allowing the wife the religious control of her children was void. Then comes the Statute and sweeps away the authority; and weakens, if it does not altogether annihilate the principle.

a decree or order against the husband, who from the purest and most conscientious motives, does not perform his agreement.*

Questions, indeed, sufficiently perplexing! But we consider that, with the exception of that relating to the financial difficulty, they apply *mutatis mutandis* to the restraint of a mother, as well as of a father; and, in fact, to the very order pronounced in this case. The Court can now effect by means of injunctions objects which were formerly regarded as lying far removed from the scope of its authority. It can issue an injunction whenever it appears "just or convenient" to do so; words sufficiently extensive to embrace the whole sphere of natural equity. We doubt very much whether the Court, although it may consider it "just," will find it "convenient" to interfere in the domestic arrangements of families.

For the credit of human nature it should be recorded that this question has very seldom called for decision. In the "Browne" case, already referred to, where the attention of the Court was first attracted to the difficulty, the learned judge entered very fully into the consideration of the problem, although he did not feel called upon to decide it: for in that case the would-be husband was placed in a most awkward dilemma. His wife's relatives insisted on the children being Protestants; his mother required from him a promise to bring them up as Catholics. Intent rather on the success of his wooing than on the requirements of honour, he appears to have entered into these inconsistent contracts, and thereby deprived both of any shadow of validity. In two cases† before Vice-Chancellor Wood (now Lord Hatherley) in 1862, the question arose incidentally; but the fact that in both these cases the father was dead creates a distinction between them and the Agar-Ellis case. The same remark applies to *Andrews v. Salt*, already mentioned, where it was held that "an ante-nuptial agreement that the children shall be brought up in a different religion from that of the father is not binding at law or in equity; but such an agreement will have weight with the Court in considering whether the father has abandoned his right to educate his children in his own religion."

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Lord O'Hagan) came to the same conclusion in "*re Meades Minors*;" but in this case the mother of the children was dead. Strange as it may appear the Agar-Ellis case was the first where it was actually decided between living parents, that an ante-nuptial agreement of this

* Per the Right Honourable T. B. C. Smith, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, in the case "*In re Browne*." 2 Ir. Ch. Rep. 151.

† "*Davies v. Davies*," 10 W.R., 245. "*Hill v. Hill*," 31 *Law Journal*, Ch. 505.

nature is absolutely void: and in this respect it seems to be scarcely consistent with the preceding cases, which only went so far as to lay down that it was not legally binding, or capable of being actively enforced. We could understand such a delegation being held void in a Court of Catholic morality; but why a Court of Law

holding no form of creed,
But contemplating all,

should forbid a man to make an irrevocable selection for his children of that religion in which they will, probably, be most carefully educated seems to us to require some more satisfactory explanation than that it is opposed to public policy.

The next point which we have to consider relates to the refusal of the Lords Justices to examine the children on the subject of religion: over-ruling on this point the decision of Lord O'Hagan in "*Meades Minors*." If we adopt the view of the Court that the case was to be decided as if there had been no promise before marriage, no abdication of authority afterwards, we cannot see any other result that could have been logically arrived at. To decide otherwise would be to admit in all cases the supervision of the Court in matters of religion, to step between a father and the exercise of his most sacred obligations, and to obtrude the authority of an earthly judge into the forum of conscience. But if the facts of the particular case justify the conclusion that the father's negligence has amounted to a total abdication of his parental authority in matters of religion, and that his resumption of that authority would be a cruel outrage upon the children, the Court has jurisdiction to interfere. We quote again from the judgment in the case *in re Browne*.

If a father was to permit his children to be brought up in that form of the Christian Religion from which he dissented until they had arrived at that period of life when they would be capable of forming and entertaining particular religious views, the Court might interfere; but that interposition would not be on the ground of contract, but on the ground that the parent was abusing his parental authority.

In considering, however, whether the contemplated action of the father is an abuse of his authority, a great deal depends on the violence of the change to which the children's minds are to be subjected; and that can scarcely be ascertained, even approximately, except by a personal interview with them. It is difficult to imagine a more anxious or onerous duty than this which is occasionally thrown upon Judges, of determining to what extent the mind of a child has been influenced by the course of training to which it has been subjected; and whether the im-

pressions received are so permanent in their nature as to render any attempt at alteration undesirable.

In the case of *Stourton v. Stourton** this interposition of the Court was pushed to its extreme limit, beyond which it is safe to prophesy no Judges will in future extend it. The Honourable John Stourton, in May, 1846, married a lady who, like himself, was a Catholic. Mr. Stourton died intestate in about a year after the marriage, and the infant plaintiff was born a few days afterwards. The child was baptised as a Catholic, Lord Stourton (his uncle) and Lady Stourton being his godfather and godmother. Mrs. Stourton, shortly after her husband's death, became a member of the Church of England; and taught to her child the doctrines of her new religion with so much zeal that she has been judicially stigmatized as a "proselytising mother." The grounds of interference in this case between a widowed mother and her only child seem to have been of the most unsubstantial character. True, the child was a member of an ancient and noble Catholic family, but that is more a matter of sentiment than an argument to control a personal privilege. The practical view is that the father was dead, and had expressed no desire on the subject of his child's education; his mother remained the closest and most natural custodian of his childhood. Yet, so strong is the inclination of the Court to carry out even the presumed intentions of a father, that in this case, if the Judges could have ordered the change with safety to the child, if the application had been made some years earlier, the widowed mother would have been debarred from instructing her child in the religion which she herself professed. Catholics in such a case feel a natural sympathy with the relatives of the child, who seek to rescue him, a Catholic by baptism and by inheritance, from being stolen out of the fold. But if they will invert the case (and all these cases can be adapted to either view), by supposing the mother to have been a Catholic convert, they will probably realise more fully how bitter such interference must have been to her, and how unjustifiable in a community not accepting Christian law. The Lords Justices, before they would abandon the dead father's claim on the soul of his son, required to be satisfied by an interview with the boy that it was inexpedient to effect any change in his religious training. The condition of the child's mind, then less than ten years of age, seems to have excited the wonder and compassion of Lord Justice Knight Bruce, who gives in his judgment, the following account of the interview:—

Certainly I had thought it not unlikely that we should find him, in

* 8 De Gex. McNaghten and Gordon's Reports, p. 760.

collegiate phrase, "crammed" for the occasion; but I cannot say that I anticipated such answers as he gave to some questions that we asked him. He spoke on the subjects of transubstantiation, the attributes of the Virgin Mary, the invocation of Saints, and the authority of the Pope, in a manner convincing me that the Protestant seed sown in his mind had taken such hold, that if we are to suppose it to contain tares, they cannot be gathered up without great danger of rooting up also the wheat with them.

And having come to that conclusion, he determined that the boy was to remain in his mother's custody; who was to be his sole guardian, and at liberty to continue his Protestant education.

The following observation is made on the rule by the author of the best and most recent text-book on the subject:—"It is too late now for any power short of the Legislature to alter a rule which, as we have seen, a long line of cases has settled, that a child must be educated in the religion of its deceased father. If both parents are dead such a rule may be a fitting one, but it seems a strange extension of the father's rights, when he is in his grave, to allow even his expressed wishes in such a case, and still more his merely presumed wishes, to override the rights of the living parent."*

We should have yielded a more unquestioning assent to the judgment in the *Agar-Ellis* case if it had laid down that an ante-nuptial agreement with reference to the religion of the children, although not generally capable of being actively enforced, would, if properly authenticated, raise against a father a case for inquiry. And that if the children, being of years of discretion, profess religious opinions in accordance with the supposition that the agreement had been acted on, the Court ought then to say—"We must examine the child to know whether the father has abdicated his parental authority:" and if, as the result of the interview, it came to the conclusion that it would be injurious to the child to make a compulsory change in its religion, it could issue an injunction to restrain (taking the injunction actually granted in this case as a precedent) the father "from taking, or procuring or permitting to be taken, the infants, or any of them, to any church or place of worship where service was performed otherwise than according to the rites of the Church of Rome."

The third point of the judgment which we have proposed to examine is the injunction restraining the wife from taking the children to Mass or Confession. It was evidently after great hesitation that the Court of Appeal affirmed the judgment of the

* *Simpson on the Law of Infants*, p. 121.

Vice Chancellor in this particular; and we think that in thus coming to the assistance of a husband, in his domestic relations, it has entered upon an alliance of a very onerous character. It appears somewhat inconsistent, while declaring the autocratic supremacy of the father as absolute monarch of his own family, to introduce at the same moment another power still more absolute within the limits of his kingdom. And how, we may ask, is such an order to be enforced? Will the Court imprison the wife if she listens rather to the dictates of conscience than to the commands of husband and Judge? Is Holloway prison to be stocked with disobedient wives? Are mother and daughters to be permanently separated lest she should instil into their minds fresh incentives to disobedience? Suppose, as is not unlikely, that the father, thus fortified by an alliance with a potent auxiliary, determines once more to put his authority on trial, and prefers to keep his children at home to sending them to a distance to be educated by strangers. Will they not be subject to precisely the same influences which formerly drove them into "open revolt?" Is it not likely that they, braving his resentment or evading his supervision, will revisit the Catholic churches which they have hitherto attended? Their mother may be in the same church. Is she to turn them from the altar, or else be made criminally responsible for a contempt of Court? If the question should hereafter arise whether she has disobeyed or evaded the terms of the injunction, what materials will the Court possess for its determination? It will have to enter into the delicate niceties of a mother's intercourse with her daughters, all the minute incidents which make up the day's routine, in a word, the molecular structure of household life. For such an inquiry it is manifestly unfit. Moreover the forces by which a mother works on the hearts of her children are too subtle for examination by the rough machinery of a court of justice. Her influence, like their very growth, is slow, persistent and invisible, and is incapable of being estimated except by the results which it produces. The order of the Court, if it is not to be a dead letter, amounts to the separation of the mother from her daughters: and that means the removal of the latter from the parental roof. The father confides to others the custody and education of his children, and in the moment of seeming triumph abdicates that authority which the Court was bent on enforcing.

What comes out more prominently than anything else, in all these cases, is the absolute subordination of the wife to the husband, and her total extinction, social and moral. Revealed authority, no doubt, prescribes the subjection of the wife, and the Catholic Church has always upheld it. But where the

whole Christian law is not in force—that is, where there are no Courts which can enforce the wife's inalienable right, to worship God according to His revealed will—it is repugnant to natural reason for any merely human and secular Court to keep up a doctrine which, under such circumstances, is sure to result in injustice and absurdity. Feudal theories without Christian restraints are barbarous and tyrannical; and whenever a nation has withdrawn its law from the guidance of Catholic doctrine, the wife must assert her rights against her husband and the child against its parent; and if the result is sometimes anarchy and misery, it is not the fault of those who resist for conscience sake.

ART. XI.—THE WINTER SESSION.

THE Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland met on December 5th, having been called together to receive from Her Majesty the following “communication required by law.”

The hostility towards my Indian Government manifested by the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the manner in which he repulsed my friendly mission, left me no alternative but to make a peremptory demand for redress. This demand having been disregarded, I have directed an expedition to be sent into Afghanistan.

In both Houses an address in answer to the Speech from the Throne was agreed to without a division. But on Monday, December 9th, Viscount Cranbrook, on the part of the Government, moved a resolution in the House of Lords—

That Her Majesty having directed a military expedition of her forces charged upon Indian Revenues to be despatched against the Ameer of Afghanistan, this House consents that the revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the military operations which may be carried on beyond the frontiers of her Majesty's Indian possessions.

To this resolution an amendment, by way of substitution, was moved by Viscount Halifax in these terms—

That while this House is ready to consent to providing the means necessary for bringing the war in which we are unhappily engaged to a safe and honourable conclusion, the House regrets the conduct pursued by Her Majesty's Government which has unnecessarily engaged this country in that contest.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, the Report of the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne having been

read, Mr. Whitbread moved as an amendment the following resolution :

That this House disapproves the conduct of Her Majesty's Government which has resulted in the war with Afghanistan.

On December 10th the House of Lords rejected the amendment moved by Viscount Halifax by 201 votes to 65, a majority of 136 ; and on December 13th the House of Commons rejected Mr. Whitbread's vote of censure by 328 votes to 227, a majority of 101.

This brief record of the issues joined between the Government and its opponents, and of the verdict delivered by the two Houses, contains all that it is necessary to say here on the great Parliamentary party conflict.

But the fact that such decisive majorities in both Houses have supported Her Majesty's Ministers makes it of interest to know what account the Government has to give of its proceedings? How it justifies them? What are the ends to which its policy is directed ; and by what means it proposes to attain those ends?

According to the Premier "the sudden appearance of Russia in the immediate vicinity of Afghanistan" is the sole and sufficient cause which has impelled the Government to adopt new measures of precaution for the defence of India, and the refusal of the Ameer to consent to these measures of precaution is the sole and sufficient cause why force has been employed against him.

The story is best told in Lord Beaconsfield's own words—

The north-western boundary of our Indian possessions is a chain of mountains of the highest class, not excepting the Andes, a branch of mountains that are the highest in the world. Yet no portion of this boundary is in the possession of the inhabitants of the Indian Empire or of the Indian Government, and through these passes invading armies may make their way, while the wild and turbulent tribes ravage the country—the fertile plains of India. . . . We have been in possession of this boundary for, I believe, twenty-eight years. During that period we have been obliged to equip nineteen considerable expeditions to control its inhabitants. There were between fifty and sixty guerilla enterprises, and we have employed in these enterprises between fifty and sixty thousand of Her Majesty's troops."

Yet whatever may be the objections to the north-western frontier of our Indian Empire, so difficult is the task of amending a frontier and meeting the obstacles that would certainly present themselves, that, according to Lord Beaconsfield, things might very likely have gone on as they have been going on for the last eight and twenty years, had it not been for the sudden appearance of Russia in the immediate vicinity of Afghanistan. Ten years ago—although then as now, the object for a statesman's consideration was the possibility of some power equal to our own

attacking us in that part of the world—Russia was two thousand miles distant from our frontier, and, it might well be believed then, that it was better to incur the inconvenience and injury of the existing frontier, than to embark upon the difficult task of making a fresh boundary, and of disturbing existing arrangements, the great objections to which were necessarily of a theoretical character.

But eight months ago war was more than probable between this country and Russia. The intention to attack British power in India has been admitted. When it was found war was not to take place, and Her Majesty's Government made representations to the Court of St. Petersburg, Russia said at once, "It is quite true that we did intend to attack and injure you there as much as we could." After that it was impossible for us to leave things as they were. After Russia had been found with her army almost within sight of Afghanistan, and with her embassy within the walls of Cabul, it was impossible to go on with the old system, or to indulge in the fancy that our frontier was a safe or a becoming frontier.

In the opinion of Lord Napier of Magdala, "Afghanistan in the hands of a hostile power may, at any time, deal a fatal blow at our Indian Empire. We cannot remain on the defensive without an enormous strain on our resources; our extended frontier is weak, and an advanced position is necessary for our safety.

With regard to the Ameer of Afghanistan, Lord Beaconsfield tells us that had the Ameer granted us those concessions which are common among all civilised states, had he agreed to our having a representative at his capital, and Consul-Generals at his chief towns, that, without any loss of territory on his part or any acquisition of territory on our part, would have been deemed a sufficient rectification of our north-west frontier.

The difficulty with regard to Afghanistan was, that the mountainous range was in fact a prison rather than a frontier. We were unable to get any information of what was going on on the other side of this mountainous range, and what was preparing in the valleys. A representative at the Ameer's capital, and most likely Consuls-General in his chief towns, would have perfectly satisfied us.

The Ameer of Afghanistan (says Lord Beaconsfield) has been treated as a spoilt child. He has had messages sent to him, and messengers offered to him. He has sent us messengers who have been courteously received. We have written him letters which he has not answered. We have written him other letters which he has answered with unkindness. What more could we do?

After all that has occurred, says Lord Beaconsfield, Her
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Majesty's Government feel it their duty to take care of the security of the Indian Empire.

Lord Beaconsfield's peroration was a fervid and eloquent and well-merited condemnation of the peace-at-any-price principle.

What I see in this amendment (he said) is not the assertion of great principles which no one honours more than myself. What is at the bottom of it is rather the principle of peace at any price. That deleterious doctrine haunts people of this country in every form. Sometimes it is a committee, sometimes it is a letter, sometimes an amendment to the address, sometimes a proposition to stop the supplies. That doctrine has done more mischief than any that I can well recall or that has been entertained during this century. It has occasioned more wars than the most ruthless conquests. It has disturbed and nearly destroyed the political equilibrium, so necessary to the liberties of nations and to the welfare of the world. It has even dimmed occasionally, though but for a moment, the Majesty of England. And now, my Lords, you have an opportunity, which I trust you will not lose of branding this opinion, this deleterious dogma, with the reprobation of the Peers of England.

What arrangements are contemplated by Government for the defence of the north-west frontiers of our Indian Empire is as yet an unrevealed secret; and, as Lord Beaconsfield told the Peers, was not a fit subject for discussion in the debate on the address. But light has been thrown upon the military aspect of the question by eminent military authorities. On December 6 a Paper on Afghanistan and the military operations therein, written by Lieut.-General J. L. Vaughan, C.B., was read at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall; and on December 13, in the same place, Major-General Hamley, C.B., R.A., read a Paper on the strategical conditions of our Indian north-west frontier. In reference to the much-mooted point whether the hither or further side of the Khyber mountains forms the most desirable boundary for our Indian Empire, Major-General Vaughan said:

If we, the masters of British India, could afford to remain quiescent until hostile legions actually emerged from the passes, there was no doubt that our position behind the passes was strong, and that the present frontier was as good as could be desired. But it was a most sound maxim that the best defence lay in an "offensive defence," a defence always ready to strike a blow in advance at an approaching enemy; and this maxim, if true, was surely particularly applicable to the case of Afghanistan. It was not so much the actual blow that constituted the danger there, as the condition of things which would precede and accompany the striking of that blow, the state of unrest which would prevail throughout the whole Indian peninsula, the doubt in men's minds while the blow was still impending as to what might be the issue of the coming contest, the hope of successful rebellion which

might find a place in the breasts of many of our feudatories. It was in these considerations that he saw the advantages of a frontier beyond the passes, the disadvantage of first having to pass such a barrier as the Khyber before a blow could be struck in advance at the gathering forces of the enemy being patent. To this it might be replied that the barrier could be surmounted just as well when the time for striking a forward blow should come, as in anticipation of it; but the forcing of the barrier was in itself an exhausting operation, and to pass it when thus forced might be to leave a wasp's nest behind to hinder our communications, and to become in turn our virulent assailants if circumstances made it necessary or advisable to withdraw again through the mountains. Better were it to pass the barrier when time and circumstances favoured us, and to make such permanent arrangements for securing the road as would enable us to use it in safety even in the face of the most unpropitious events.

Major-General Hamley proposes a scheme for defence, which he recommends as the best in a military sense, and as involving no extension of territory, no expenditure worth mentioning, and no increase of frontier force. He would block the Khyber Pass on our side of it with an intrenched camp armed with powerful artillery to be garrisoned by the Peshawur troops reinforced in case of need. If this were suitably occupied no hostile force, however superior, advancing, as it necessarily must, in lengthened, even straggling array, to the mouth of the Khyber, could ever expect to issue from it. In like manner, an intrenched camp, armed with heavy artillery, might be placed at the issue of the Gholam Pass and occupied by the garrison of Dera Ismail Khan; and another—though rather to strengthen the feeling of security than from necessity—in front of the Kurrum. With these camps in front of the passes as the fixed point of operations, and with the main forces assembled in the first instance on the lower Indus as the active army, Major-General Hamley would feel confident of the result. Our position has been vastly improved by the occupation of Quettah: it would be all that we could desire if we occupied Candahar. And whichever of these two points we selected for the advanced post of our line it must be made the site of an intrenched camp powerfully armed, the railway to Dadur must be made, and the roads made between it and the camp everywhere improved. With a garrison strongly posted in its lines at Candahar, with all the routes and stages by which our forces might be assembled on that point, all sources of supply, and all arrangements for transport laid down, as our trained staff officers are certainly capable of laying them down, we might view calmly any possible complications before us, whether arising from the augmented military power of Russia in the East, from the success of her intrigues, or from her open hostility.

The well-considered views of such a military authority as Major-General Hamley are sure to be taken into account by those with whom the decision may rest, and his opinions derive additional weight from the testimony of Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., who presided over the meeting, and who made the following observations upon General Hamley's Paper :—

In his opinion it had always been true policy to look to Herat and Candahar rather than to Cabul, and fourteen years ago he expressed his belief that the time would come when outworks would be as necessary for the defence of empires as fortresses, and that in that way Herat and Candahar were the Malakoff and the Mamelon of our position in India. Cabul was as awkward a place to hold and govern as any in all Asia. It was inhabited by a fanatical and disorderly population, who were incensed against us by the memories of former wars, who yielded a very doubtful obedience to Shere Ali himself, and who would be still more unmanageable if any effort at coercion were attempted on our part. Consequently, he had always felt it desirable, if possible, to give such a policy a wide berth. General Hamley had now pointed out that Cabul could do no harm provided we were strong at Candahar, and that we shut up the Khyber Pass, so as to prevent any possible outlet for the discontented or hostile spirits at Cabul to emerge on the plain of India. At Candahar everything was in our favour. The people were friendly to us, supplies were abundant, and there was no more difficulty in holding the country than in holding any of our positions in the Punjaub or in Scinde. The military position of the country was also admirable. It not only intercepted the line of communication between Herat and Cabul, but supported Herat in a most efficient manner. In fact, if we were in possession of Candahar, with a railway open to Dadur, we should be in a more efficient position to succour Herat than from any other point. Another great thing to be considered was that Candahar would be the real point of attack of any army invading India from the west or north-west. Such an army must almost of necessity march by the line of Candahar, for in that line no physical difficulties whatever occurred. As a matter of fact, a carriage had been driven and could be driven along the road. There was scarcely a hill of more than 100 or 200 feet in height. If an invasion of India were to take place it must be by way of Candahar, and therefore he agreed with Major-General Hamley that a fortress and a strongly intrenched camp—not perhaps the size of Metz, but something of that description—should be established at that point, capable of containing 10,000 or 15,000 men. A fortress of that kind would make our position in India practically impregnable. In regard to the broad proposition of the Paper, that we must not attempt to occupy the whole of the country, but must defend the eastern part by an intrenched camp, and hold the western part, he was entirely in accord with General Hamley.

The decision of the Imperial Parliament to support the Government may have been wise or unwise, and its fruits may prove

sweet or bitter, but one immediate benefit has resulted from it. We have been spared from the continuation of the most tedious, wearying, and barren series of personal wranglings that ever distracted public attention. How many Viceroys, how many Secretaries of State, how many eminent civilians and distinguished soldiers have contradicted themselves, and one another; how many despatches have been falsely quoted or misinterpreted, who has been provident and who has been short-sighted, who has been candid and who has been tricky, who has made blunders of his own, and who has corrected the blunders of others; are all questions over which, since the decision of the Imperial Parliament was made known, a deep and most refreshing silence has descended. To the imputations and recriminations and wranglings, which for some weeks filled the public press, there has succeeded a lull. There has been a general recognition of the unprofitableness of such discussions at a time when a danger to the Empire has been admitted to exist, and when the thoughts of all who love their country are directed to the discovery and adoption of the best means of guarding against it.

The Winter Session of 1878 will be remembered in the history of England, not for its debates, nor for its party victories and defeats, but because of its marking a stage in the advance of the two great Powers to their inevitable conflict.

Science Notices.

(GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATIONS, DISCOVERIES, &c.)

UNDER the above general heading will come our brief notices of various sciences which engage popular attention. In the present number we confine ourselves to a single department, that namely which may be called *Geographical*.

We propose to lay before our readers each quarter a brief summary of the geographical explorations and undertakings which are being carried out, chiefly beyond Europe, in behalf of trade or science. In such a summary it will not be possible either to enter into minute scientific detail, or to dwell at length on scenes of travel and adventure, however interesting and attractive. These will form the subject from time to time of various papers and of longer reviews.

Arctic Expeditions.—We begin with a word on the *Arctic Expeditions*. "What is the use of these Arctic expeditions," it is sometimes asked, "in which so many brave and valuable lives are lost, and from which no commercial wealth is obtained?" Mr. Clements R. Markham, himself an Arctic explorer, and actually Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society, gives a good answer to this question in the October number of the *Geographical Magazine*. He shows that Ethnology, History, Zoology, Botany, and Meteorology have all received important contributions from that small portion of Greenland which has hitherto been explored. The late English Arctic Expedition, 1875-6, has completed our knowledge of Eskimo wanderings towards the Pole. The naturalist of the *Alert* came across the most northern traces of men that have ever been found—six miles south of the 82nd parallel—and this may therefore be considered the *ultima Thule* of human advance. The Eskimo race is the most widely diffused race in the world, stretching along the Arctic regions of the two continents of Asia and America, from Siberia to Cape Farewell. How these people have lived for untold ages is among the wonders of human nature. Those on the coasts of Greenland—a continent nearly as large as Europe—now number only about 9500 souls. The Danes within recent times have contributed towards their support; this intervention appears to have diminished their power of self-help, and it is thought that they diminish instead of increasing in numbers. Catholic missionaries visit them from time to time. A colony of Normans had settlements in South Greenland, and in the fourteenth century had a cathedral and churches, as we learn from a Brief of Pope Nicholas V. But in 1418

the settlements were attacked, probably by the Eskimos, and were entirely destroyed. The manner in which the great icebergs, thousands of feet thick, are destroyed by nature has been discovered. A sandy trachytic mineral powder falls upon them, whether blown from some volcano, or meteor, is not known. This dark mineral absorbs a greater amount of the sun's rays than the white ice, and thus produces holes over its surface which wonderfully help the melting and disintegrating process. How it is that coal-beds formed of trees which grow in mid-Europe are found in Greenland, is one of the problems which have been engaging the attention of the Geographical Society of Geneva during the last few months. Equally curious is the study of the Greenland flora. One great service rendered to mankind by the Arctic expeditions is the greater knowledge they give us of the hydrography of the Polar regions; without a knowledge of the meteorology and oceanic currents of the North, an eminently practical science, one of the greatest importance to navigators and to trade, is incomplete.

The great Arctic explorers have been the Swedes. During the last fourteen years they have sent out seven expeditions to Spitzbergen, and two to Greenland. Their museums possess the richest Arctic scientific collections in the world. Mr. Oscar Dickson, of Gothenburg, is the great patron and promoter of Swedish Arctic research. Of 20,000*l.* which the last expedition cost, Mr. Dickson contributed 12,000*l.*, and the King and Government of Sweden 5500*l.*

The name of Professor Nordenskiöld is famous as the most successful and daring explorer of the Arctic regions. He has made six Arctic expeditions, and possesses scientific qualifications of the highest order. It was he who discovered that the Yenisei river can be reached by the Kara sea during a certain period of the summer, and he has thus opened out the heart of Siberia to an important commerce with Europe. Professor Nordenskiöld sailed in July, taking the N.E. route, in the steamer *Vega*. From the last accounts we are told that his voyage has been quite unique in the annals of Arctic exploration. We have at present no knowledge of the vegetable and animal life in the sea on the north coast of Siberia, the sea of Kara, and observations meteorological and tidal, as well as in terrestrial magnetism, are much required from those regions. It is expected that we shall also get some addition to ethnology and geography from this expedition. The last heard of the *Vega* was that she had passed the Lena, and was making for Japan through the Behring Straits. The condition of the ice during the past summer has been unusually favourable in the northern seas.

The Dutch vessel *William Barentz* has recently returned with meteorological observations after a cruise of two months in the Barentz sea. There have been several other expeditions of less moment, which we need not register.

Those interested in the extraordinarily fascinating scenery found in the Polar regions should procure Dr. Moss's "Shores of the Polar Sea," for the sake of the chromo-lithographs and engravings made from

drawings during the English Expedition of 1878. Explorers of the Arctic regions are always enthusiastic on the subject of the scenery, which, they say, makes an indelible and life-long impression on all who witness it.

The Yenisei.—We have accounts of Mr. Sebohm's exploration of the course of the Yenisei, the approach to which for trading vessels through the northern seas has been discovered by Professor Nordenskiöld. The Yenisei is the third largest river in the world. It rises in the mountains of Central Asia, flows northwards and westwards, and after passing through Lake Bakal enters the Sea of Kara. Its total length is roughly estimated at 4000 miles. During the greater part of the year it is covered with ice; but in May and June the river becomes free and navigable. Mr. Sebohm travelled over the ice from Yenesaïsk, a town in the centre of Siberia, to the mouth of the river, a distance of 1600 miles. The banks are covered with magnificent timber up to the Arctic regions, when the forests diminish and gradually disappear. At Yenesaïsk a mast sixty feet long, three feet diameter at the bottom, and eighteen inches at the top, can be bought for twenty shillings. The wood is of exceedingly small specific gravity, and very elastic, and is said not to lose its elasticity with age. But the most valuable timber is the cedar, which is very abundant, and is said, if worked soon after being cut, never to warp, shrink, crack, or rot. The great value, however, of the exploration and opening out to trade of the Yenisei is to be found rather in the means of exit which it affords to the unlimited produce of Southern Siberia. The Russian Government has been urged to make proper surveys of this river and of its mouth; this work, however, is more likely to be undertaken by English enterprise. Many Russians, such as M. Sidoroff, who owns large graphite mines near the river, are naturally fully alive to the advantages of further exploration.

The Land of Midian.—Before we leave Asia, on our way to burning Africa, we may stay for a moment on the coast of Arabia in the *land of Midian*. Among recent discoveries none will be more interesting to the Biblical student than Captain Burton's researches in the land of Midian. It will be remembered that they were Midianite merchants who bought Joseph and sold him in Egypt, and that it was to Midian that Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and that there he married the daughter of Jethro. Midian has no place in our atlases; it is not to be found even in Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas, though its place is assigned in his map of the Bible countries. It extends from Akaba (N. lat. $29^{\circ} 28'$) on the Gulf of Akaba, to Moilah (N. lat. $27^{\circ} 40'$) on the Red Sea, having a seaboard of about 300 miles. Captain Burton says that the land of Midian had various degrees of extension in different epochs. This territory, though in Arabia, is held by the Khedive, who garrisons all the seaboard forts that protect the pilgrim highways from Suez to Mecca and Medina further down the coast.

Captain Burton explored this district in the first months of 1878,

being employed, and provided with everything, by the Khedive. On the 27th November he read a long and interesting Paper, on the result of his four months' tour, before the Society of Arts. The journey covered 2500 miles. He discovered 250 Midianite, Roman, and Rific coins and stone-weapons, and explored twenty-two ruined cities, besides mapping a considerable part of the district. He brought back twenty-five tons of ores of gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead, and discovered turquoise mines, and immense deposits of gypsum, saltpetre, and rock-salt. Captain Burton is sanguine that great wealth will accrue to the Khedive and to any company that can be induced to embark in working the mines of Midian. Where the nations of the Old Testament found great wealth, he thinks it will be possible for us, with our improved means of working, to find much greater. Captain Burton returns to prosecute his work next February, and we heartily wish him success.

South Central Africa.—Although English interest at present seems to be in the *exploration of South Central Africa*, yet the African exploration fund is unworthily small. Two projects have commended themselves to the subscribers to this fund, the one an exploration of the land beyond Lake Tanganyika, and the other of the district between the East Coast and the northern end of Lake Nyassa. An expedition for the latter purpose started in November under the superintendence of Mr. Keith Johnston, a son of the illustrious geographer, himself possessing all the qualifications of a geographer, a draughtsman, and an explorer. A caravan road, twenty-five miles south of Zanzibar, is in course of construction by Sir Fowell Buxton and other English engineers. Starting from this road Mr. K. Johnston will work towards the north of Lake Nyassa, a distance of 350 miles, to examine the range of mountains (Livingstone or Kondi range) to the north-east of the Lake, said to be 15,000 feet high. This district falls within the locality assigned to F. Delpelchin, and it is one of the most promising in point of climate and agricultural resources in Africa. Mr. Cotterell, in a Paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, said that parts of it reminded him of Switzerland, and he described it as extremely fertile.

There has been a good deal of talk of a pioneer railway to connect Zanzibar and Lake Nyassa. The Sultan greatly desires it; but the scheme is not receiving much patronage in England. The "pioneer" line consists of only one rail, requires no cuttings, the rolling stock is handy, and can be shipped in running order, the engine weighing only four tons. It can ascend a gradient of 1 in 7. Mr. J. L. Haddan read a Paper on the subject last year before the Geographical Society. But a much more immediately practical way of travelling in Central South Africa, a plan which would dispense with from 300 to 500 porters whom explorers and missionaries are now forced to hire at somewhat high rates, which become higher still through these porters either running away and leaving you, or stealing all your effects (as recently was the case with the Belgian Expedition and with the French missionaries), is one suggested by the course that Gordon

Pasha has just adopted. The Khedive had five Indian elephants at Cairo, which Gordon Pasha has brought with a smaller African elephant to Khartoun, and on to Dufli, within a short distance of Lake Albert. He has used them in two or three expeditions. They carry enormous loads of baggage, travel at a fair pace, wade through and swim rivers, and, in fact, have proved themselves to be invaluable for African expeditions. In the Soudan are herds of elephants, often 400 in number. If the use of the elephant be brought in for African travelling, expeditions will assume a less serious character than they do at present, and the numerous porters may be dispensed with. There are steamers now on Lakes Albert, Victoria, and Nyassa, and probably before long a steamer will be at work on Tanganyika.

The Soudan.—While the English are busy in the territory explored by Stanley, Livingstone, and others, the French are trying to secure to themselves the great market of the Soudan. M. Soleillet has travelled up the Niger, and is forming excellent relations with the kings of the Soudan. He is alone, attended only by one servant. He hopes to reach Timbuctoo within a few months. The French Minister of Agriculture and Commerce and the intelligent French Society of Commercial Geography have their attention fixed upon the trade of this the richest and most thickly peopled part of Africa; and practical efforts are being made to open out lines of connexion between the Soudan and Algeria. Behm and Wagner, in their "*Bevölkerung der Erde*," assign a population to Central Soudan of 38,800,000, and to Western Soudan of 17,600,000; and Keith Johnston adopts the estimate.

The Italians are actively exploring in Abyssinia, and the Galla and Somali countries.

It may be well here to add, for the information of all interested in African discovery, that the best wall map of Africa yet published in any country is Dr. Chavanne's "*Physicalische Wandkarte von Africa*." It has been lately published in Vienna, and contains all recent discoveries, including Mr. Stanley's. At the foot of the large map are four smaller ones, showing the watercourses, the character of the soil, the ethnography, and the political condition of the people. Mr. Keith Johnston has a similar map in preparation. It remains to be seen whether it will surpass this magnificent map, got up by the secretary of the Austrian Geographical Society.

Amazon and Madeira.—From Africa we may pass over along the Equator to America, and there we shall find Captain Selfridge, of the U.S. Navy, engaged in a *Survey of the Amazon and Madeira Rivers*. At present United States and English merchandise for the natives of Bolivia has to be landed on the coast of Peru, and carried by mules over the Andes, at a cost of about 11*l.* a ton, the transit consuming about 180 days. By the new route, which is being opened on the Amazon and the Madeira, the cost of transportation will be diminished to 3*l.* a ton, and the carriage will be done in thirty days from Liverpool or New York. During four months Captain Selfridge has taken

soundings every five minutes in the Amazon and Madeira. The Madeira has been proved to be navigable for ships drawing twenty feet of water for 500 miles, and it is thought that it is navigable for 1200 or 1300 miles further. The commercial plan is to send goods up the Amazon and the Madeira, till the Madeira rapids are reached. A railroad round the rapids is in actual construction by a United States company, and will be finished within three years. The goods will be conveyed by this railway past the rapids and transhipped again. They will then be carried, as we have before said, at a small expense from England up to the gates of Cochabamba, nearly the centre of Bolivia. Rubber, Peruvian bark, gums and dyes, gold, silver, and copper abound in Bolivia to any extent, and will form the return freights. New markets are thus opening out, and it will be a question who most shall profit by them. The Americans are trying hard to be the first. The banks of the Amazon and Madeira are enormously fertile, and offer magnificent sites for innumerable towns and cities.

Ship-Canal through Isthmus of Darien.—A little to the north of the Amazon, and within the tropics, a still greater scheme is being developed. Considerable commercial interest is felt in the project, which now threatens to become a *fait accompli*, of *piercing the Isthmus of Darien with a ship-canal*. Lieutenant Wyse of the French Engineers has been at work on the subject for ten years. He has gone over all the six or seven different projects that have been at various times proposed, he has the complete survey of each prepared, and it now only remains for an International Commission, with M. de Lesseps at its head, to determine which of the plans presents the greatest sum of advantages. Five of the plans take the canal through the State of Columbia and one through the State of Nicaragua.

The preference so far has been given to the plan for laying down a canal through the valleys of the rivers Tapisa and Fa Tiati. The Nicaragua, the Panama, and the Choco schemes present much greater difficulties. In March last a contract was signed at Bogotá by the Minister of the Interior, on behalf of the Columbian Government, and by Lieutenant Wyse, on behalf of the Interoceanic Canal Company, securing to the latter many important rights and privileges. It first grants the exclusive right to the Company to construct a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and also the right to construct a railway parallel to the canal, if the Company should think fit to do so. The concession is for ninety-nine years, and at the expiration of that term the canal and the working plant is to become the property of the Columbian Government. The Company has already paid 30,000*l.* as a deposit, for which they have received a valuable concession of land. The actual line of the canal is to be determined by a jury of engineers selected from various nations. Three years have been granted for further exploration; but the work must be commenced not later than 1881. Twelve years are given for its completion, and a further period of six years if the additional time should be absolutely necessary. The canal is to allow passage for ships of twenty-six feet

draught; the ports at both ends are to be neutral for ever, as also the waters of the canal itself, which are always to remain open for the trading ships of all nations. There are exceptions made in the case of ships of war. Everything passing through the canal is to be free of duty, unless it be for actual consumption on Columbian territory. All dues will accrue to the Company during their lease, but will afterwards belong to the Columbian Government.

The Isthmus of Darien is comprised between 7° 30' and 9° 30' N. lat., and is separated from that of Panama by the San Blas mountains. The French and the Americans are taking the lead in this great enterprise; but no people in the world, both on account of their commerce and their colonies, can be more interested in it than the English.

F.R.G.S.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

FRENCH, BELGIAN, AND ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Juillet et Octobre, 1878. Paris: Palmé.

THESE two numbers form the twenty-fourth volume of this excellent Review. M. Vigoureux, of S. Sulpice, opens the July number with a long and erudite article entitled "King Solomon," in which he discusses those events in Solomon's reign which most contributed to his celebrity, especially in so far as modern research and discovery have thrown new light on them. These events fall under three chief heads: his administrative organisation of the kingdom, the building of the Temple, and Judea's immense commerce during his reign. Each of these groups of causes is examined with great minuteness of detail; not only are the great commentators and standard authors on the subject-matter largely quoted, but points of local description are frequently illustrated by appropriate extracts from the writings of travellers and scientific observers of both France, Germany, and England.

Solomon possessed all the physical and moral qualities calculated to render him popular among the Jews. A people so sensible as they were to exterior advantages were necessarily captivated by his striking graces of person and mind. He added to his popularity by his marriage with the daughter of the King of Egypt. The political advantages accruing from such a marriage were clearly seen by the Jews, as many Scripture references to it show (3 Reg. iii. 1; vii. 8; ix. 16, 24; xi. 1). We do not know in detail what was the dowry which the daughter of the Pharaoh brought to Judea, but it is incidentally mentioned in the third Book of Kings (ix. 16) that the town of Gazer formed a part of it. The identification of this Gazer was a gap in biblical topography until 1870. The majority of commentators, misled

by a mere resemblance of name, had decided that it was the little town of Yazoûr, to the east of Jaffa. In reality Gazer is about three miles from Khouлда, near a village named Abou-Chouché. It is at the present day a heap of ruins, known as Tell-Djezer; but the site of a great city can still be traced. The discovery was due to M. Clermont-Ganneau, and his identification of it is placed beyond doubt by the bilingual inscriptions, in Greek and Hebrew, found there. From these inscriptions can now be determined exactly the journey permitted to be made by a Jew on the Sabbath-day. Solomon's people were moved with admiration for the public marks of piety which he gave at the solemn feast at Gabaon after his marriage. Then came his heaven-sent wisdom, and the brilliant exhibition of it in his famous judgment.

From such favourable beginnings is explained the ascendancy which Solomon acquired over his people: the organisation of his kingdom, the formation of an elaborate court with a multitude of state officers, secretaries, tax collectors, &c., gave the finish to his reputation for prudence and wisdom. Taxes, strictly so called, were now for the first time levied on the Jews, and already they were not light; besides presents more or less voluntary to be made to the king on his accession, in time of war, and on other occasions, there is reason to believe that the revenue of each Israelite was taxed to the extent of twenty per cent. In addition, by David's regulation, every able man had to give one month of every year to military service and to support himself during it. The Jew paid heavily for the national glory. The king drew also large revenues from the duties on imports; from the tributes paid by nations submitting to his rule, and from the monopolies he held over certain branches of commerce, as of gold and horses. The twelve *nisabim*, or chiefs, who represented the king in the different parts of the kingdom, and who were great personages in the realm, had for their chief duty the collection of the revenues.

The building of the Temple was the crowning work of Solomon's reign. M. Vigoureux enters at great length into an account of the locality, excavations, modes of working, and the plan and style of the building. The last were most probably Egyptian. The sight of that vast edifice, sparkling with gold and bronze, simple nevertheless in its construction, and different from all pagan temples in that it held no image of a divinity to be adored there, never left the memory of Israel. It was his pride and strength, and the delight of his eyes.

Solomon's immense enterprises demanded almost inexhaustible resources. Taxes and duties were insufficient for his needs, but the example of Tyre had taught him that commerce was a great source of riches, and he had recourse to it. Solomon traded with the neighbouring tribes, with Egypt and with Ophir. Much space is given to discussing the locality of Ophir. It has been placed in Arabia, at Sofala, a district of Eastern Africa, at different points on the west coast of India, at Ceylon, at Malacca, at Sumatra, and even in America. Calmet places it in Armenia or Colchis, Hardt in Phrygia, Oldermann in Iberia, Arias Montanus and others in Peru. The two most probable opinions place it, the one in Arabia, the other in India; the latter is

here defended at great length. The strongest argument for the location of Ophir in Arabia is that Ophir is named in the 10th chapter of Genesis, and placed in Arabia, among the sons of Jectan, who occupied the southern portion of that country. But the Ophir of Solomon is not necessarily the Ophir of the Book of Genesis; nothing, indeed, obliges us to conclude that it is. Comparative philology helps to show where the merchandise which Solomon's fleet brought to Palestine came from. Besides gold and precious stones it brought ivory, sandal-wood, apes, and peacocks. Lassen (*"Indische Alterthumskunde"*) has shown that the words *gôf*, *tukkyim*, and *algoum* or *almoug*, which designate apes, peacocks, and sandal-wood, are Sanscrit; and Benary has established that the word *senhabbim* signifies elephant's tooth—that is, ivory. The sandal-wood came certainly from India. Apes and peacocks, as also the sandal-wood, were probably unknown to the Hebrews from their leaving Egypt until Solomon's fleet brought them from Ophir; hence they had no name in the language of Palestine. It was not so with ivory, with which they were already familiar. It has in the Hebrew Bible the name *sen* = tooth, *garnot-sen* = horns of tooth; but that which was brought by the fleet from Ophir is designated by a special word, not found elsewhere, that of *senhabbim*. The word *habbim* is most probably a corruption of the Sanscrit *ibha* = elephant. "Thus, the Hebrew word for ivory is joined to the Hindoo word for the animal which furnishes it." This presumption in favour of an Indian Ophir is confirmed by many other arguments. Abhira, situated at the mouth of the Indus, would be, Lassen thinks, the nearest and most commodious port for the Phœnician sailors.

Etudes religieuses, historiques et littéraires. Octobre, 1878. Lyon et Paris.

A N eloquent article in this number from the pen of the Père de Scorraille, on "The Opportuneness of the Encyclical of our Holy Father Leo XIII.," contains some remarks appropriate to our own needs in the midst of an anti-Catholic society and its criticisms.

1. We frequently hear the end of the Catholic Church spoken of as approaching, and in fact to a superficial mind the Church may seem to be going the way of all things here below—to decrepitude and death. Heretic and schismatic peoples have it their own way; in countries where Catholics are the actual majority, the anti-Catholic party have power in their hand. She is tolerated with regret in Italy, harassed in her action, often persecuted with violence—her very existence menaced. And the situation grows worse daily. For a quarter of a century past there is not an event of any importance in the political world which is not a new insult or danger to Catholicism. Outside Catholicism all is prosperity; within all is doomed to weakness and decay. Then Catholicism has had its day, and is doomed to disappear, unless indeed it regain its lost influence by inoculation with something of modern youth, life, spirit. Leo XIII. avenges the honour of the Church, compromised apparently by contemporary history, and he fortifies the faithful against the dangerous seduction

which is always exercised by the spectacle of error and evil triumphant. Civilisation, he says, is without foundation if not resting on the eternal principles of truth and the immutable laws of right and justice. He teaches the Catholic nations, fallen to-day from their preponderance, that they owe it to their ingratitude and indocility to the Church. He shows that the actual state of society, so loudly vaunted, appears, if honestly examined, full of trouble and prophetic of approaching ruin. No Catholic, if he understands the Pope's grave words, need any longer be tempted to envy the power of separated societies, or blush for the inferiority of his own. Far from bending his head before the pride of England, the arrogance of Germany, the scorn of Russia, the boasting of America, he can show that his faith places him still above them all, by the dignity and hope with which it inspires him. "You have opulence and power," he will say; "you have neither grandeur nor true prosperity." And in presence of the humiliations of his country, the Catholic instructed by Leo XIII. will repeat the humble but strengthening avowal of the Machabees: "If our nation is unfortunate, it is because we have left the faith and the worship of our fathers. God punishes us for our infidelity. When we shall return to Him and His Church as faithful servants the chastisement and our humiliation will cease." This dignified answer in the face of the adversary, this humble confession in his presence, as expressed in the Encyclical, are the most beautiful and complete apology for the Church. Bossuet in his funeral oration of Henrietta of France eulogises his heroine in two ways. First he shows what success she won for the cause of her husband—victories, alliances, submissions. Then he shows what sad reverses befell that cause when sickness separated her from public affairs: "La reine tomba en langueur, et tout l'État languit avec elle." On a similar plan is this grand panegyric of God's Church composed, a panegyric which is no other than the history of the world. All nations, willingly or unwillingly, bear testimony in turn in her favour. Such testimony is read in their happy or unhappy lot, as the Church has reigned over them or been a stranger to them; by her they progress, without her they retrograde; with her, civilisation; away from her, return to barbarism of manners, if not of physical life. Such is the double apology of the Church which the ages write in the world, and which history proclaims. In support of this view the article goes on to quote contemporary events in Germany, Russia, England, and Turkey.

Revue Générale. Octobre, Novembre, Decembre, 1878. Bruxelles.

A REPORT is given in this number of the *Revue* of the third general assembly of the Görres-Gesellschaft at Cologne, from the 27th to the 29th of August last. The Catholics of England ought to wish well to and aid, if possible, this Catholic literary and scientific society. Its object is "to bring back science to the domain of faith—that is, of truth." As England has drunk so deeply of the

poison of German freethinking and infidel literature, perhaps an efficacious antidote is to come in due time from the very country where the evil began, and whence it spread. The *Göerres Society* numbers already more than 2000 members, and is at present under the presidency of the Baron de Hertling. It is divided into four sections—Philosophy, Law and Social Economy, History, and Natural Sciences. The proceedings commenced with solemn High Mass, and an opening discourse from Mgr. Baudri, Suffragan of Cologne. On the first day several Papers were read in the Philosophy section. In the section on Juridical and Social Studies, a plan was proposed for carrying out the resolution adopted last year, which is to publish a complete dictionary of political and juridical sciences inspired by Catholic principles. Germany already possesses three or four dictionaries on these sciences, but they are all imbued with the theories of Rousseau, Kant, and Hegel on law and morals. The dictionary is to consist of three volumes of about 800 pages of text; the articles are to be written in the orthodox spirit, but are, at the same time, to be such as will meet the real exigencies of modern society. The Historical section resolved to commence a quarterly review of historical subjects, which will be open to non-Catholic writers also, if they respect religious principles.

Revue Catholique. Rédigée par des Professeurs de l'Université de Louvain. 15 Novembre, 1878: Louvain.

THE article which commences this number would probably startle good Evangelical Protestants. "The Bible Popularised" laments that "the holy and pious habit" of reading the Bible which prevailed in French-speaking Catholic countries, a generation or two ago, is nearly if not altogether lost. But the Bibles were special editions abridged to suit popular use, so that they could be read with interest and without a blush by the children and the aged, by the maiden and the boy. And the lament is mentioned very pleasantly by way of introducing to the reader a newly published edition of the Bible for popular use—*La Sainte Bible*, by the Abbé Salmon, of the diocese of Paris. If all that it said in this recommendatory notice as to the arrangement, learned notes, &c., be true, it would be a great boon to the English-speaking Catholic people if its treasures were translated into our own tongue.

A *résumé* of M. François Lenormand's lectures on the Moneys of Antiquity, in the chair of Archæology at the Bibliothèque Nationale, 1875-77, gives a very good idea of what may be looked for in this great work of the learned author.

La Civiltà Cattolica. Firenze; 2 Novembre, 1878. *Is a Republic possible under present circumstances in Italy?*

THERE is an article of some interest in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for the 2nd November on the possibility of a Republic being set up in Italy. One of the chief objections raised by those who believe that

the experiment must prove unsuccessful, at least for a very long time to come, seems at first sight plausible—viz., the comparatively small number of those who heartily desire it. How, say the objectors, can a Republic be set up without Republicans? Supposing their premiss to be correct, it may be asked in reply, How many cordial adherents to the system of a united Italy existed when this so-called unity was achieved? Did Cavour himself, who, to obtain the support of the Mazzinian Republicans, first gave the political impulse to the movement in its favour, believe in its possibility, or was he even convinced of its desirability? Almost all those Liberals who are initiated in the secrets of the progress of the Revolution deny both the one and the other. After the same fashion, then, as *Unitarists* were formed, or were supposed to be formed, so also may Republicans be formed, or supposed to be formed. Let but the manufacturers of a Republic have the same power of eliciting plebiscites, as had the creators of political unity, and the Republic can be as easily founded on a supposed national aspiration as was the present monarchy of united Italy. May not the prodigy of proving that only forty-six Roman citizens adhered to the Pope three weeks after the breach of Porta Pia be repeated, *mutatis mutandis*, by the Republicans?

The objectors, in fact, proceed upon the hypothesis that revolutions in our days are brought about by the nation, ignoring the patent fact that they are the work of factions, which, having managed in one way or another to get into power, usurp the personality of the nation, and wield its force at their pleasure. But, the objectors further urge, how is public authority to be grasped by Republicans under a regular constitutional Monarchy like the Italian? A counter-question is a sufficient answer. How did the Republicans of France in 1792, 1848, and 1870 succeed in overthrowing the regularly constituted Monarchies of Louis XVI., Louis Philippe, Napoleon III., or that of Spain, the government of Isabella II. in 1868? Or, to look no farther than Italy, how did the Republicans succeed in 1848 in substituting for the rule of the Pope and of the Grand Duke that of Mazzini and Guerrazzi? The Liberal Monarchists might also be asked how they themselves succeeded eighteen years ago in destroying five regularly constituted Monarchies in the Peninsula and substituting their new and united monarchy, now, as they so bitterly complain, menaced by the Republicans.

But the question, in fact, is ridiculous, since, practically speaking, the Republicans have been in power for the last two years. The Ministry of Depretis and Nicotera was largely composed of them, and they are in still greater force in that of Cairoli and Zanardelli. Supposing that the present Ministry may be credited with the intention of not openly betraying the trust committed to them, who is to answer for their successors? Or, rather, is it not evident that the next change must hand over the throne to its sworn enemies, and to certain destruction?

But others point to the strong Conservative elements existing in Italy, against which, they say, every effort to overturn the Monarchy

and establish a Republic must be broken. The *Civiltà* hopes that it may be so, but observes that these elements must be divided, as they naturally divide themselves, into two classes. Setting aside the great mass of the people—*real Italy*, which has no connexion with the parties which simply oppress, corrupt, and pillage it—the *Civiltà*, in the first instance, limits itself to the consideration of *legal Italy*—that is, the above-named parties who have made new Italy, and have hitherto fattened upon it as their exclusive possession. Now, what is the character of the boasted Conservative elements to be found in their ranks? What are the principles of these men to whom collectively the name of the *consorteria* was applied, but who styled themselves the *moderati*, who held the reins of government from the year 1859 to March 1876. And by what acts have they distinguished their governmental career? They have had fair time to show themselves, and no party, perhaps, ever merited or acquired greater public infamy. This can hardly surprise us when we consider who they are. There is a little of everything in the body; there are Jews, apostates, atheists, deluded Catholics, sham Catholics. The aristocracy contribute a not inconsiderable contingent, the rich *bourgeoisie* are very numerous. Doctors, lawyers, hungry *litterati*, are largely represented, to whom must be added the herd of unprincipled speculators and money-jobbers, of needy and greedy adventurers, all grasping at a share in the plunder of the public revenue, of which the dominant faction has had the monopoly for so many years. "The countless number of unfaithful cashiers, rapacious executors, forgers in office, dishonest *employés* or subtractors of sums of money, great or small, from banks or from the State Treasury—of thieves, in short, who have daily desolated Italy, and scandalised Europe—belonged for the greater part, or feigned to belong, to the party of the *moderati*, whose stipendiaries they were.

If not all, yet almost all, the most influential leaders of this Monarchical *consorteria* had issued from the school or sect of Giuseppe Mazzini, and were therefore either renegades to the cause to which they had solemnly bound themselves, or were concealed traitors to that which they had espoused. One way or another they were perjured men or hypocrites. They had sworn hatred to kings, and broken their oath; they had conspired against the throne, and then become its servants. There were, indeed, exceptions—persons who had belonged to the *régime* of the old Courts, men of elastic conscience, ready to swear allegiance wherever temporary self-interest prompted, and feeling themselves no way hampered by any such engagement. It would be difficult to state the principles of a body thus constituted, and not easy to credit such gentry with anything deserving the name. "We have seen them at work," says the *Civiltà*, "ever capitulating with all the principles of morality and justice, so long as they could only save their Italy from the assaults of the Republican democracy. To disarm and pacify this democracy, and always in accordance with it, they have made unity, warred on the Church, dissipated and squandered all its property guaranteed to it by the *Statuto*, abolished the religious orders,

banished God from the army and from the schools, desecrated the family at its source by civil marriage, conferred legal protection on public immorality, and right of citizenship on public blasphemy, opened the breach of Porta Pia to enter Rome and erect the throne of Victor Emanuel against that of the Pope. Has there been any enormity which the democracy has required of them, which, sooner or later, in one way or another, these singular Conservatives have not conceded, and that rather as accomplices than as capitulators?"

Moreover, the one juridical and fundamental principle of their system, and which they one and all accept, is that all sovereignty resides in the people, that the King reigns as their delegate, but does not govern: a doctrine expressed magisterially in his *Gazetta* by Carlo Pancrazi, an ardent partisan of liberalistic Monarchy. "With us," he writes, "it is the people who rule the Government; with the tyrants, it was the Government that ruled the people." It is hard to see what theoretic divergence exists between a Monarchy of this sort and the most democratic Republic, and it can scarcely be expected that a party which has already yielded to the democrats on the most important points, will hold out long about a difference which has been reduced rather to one of words than of ideas. Vain, indeed, would it be to look for invincible defenders of the Monarchy in that quarter. The party, besides, has become very much diminished in strength and numbers, as well as extremely poor, since their day of ministerial ascendancy has passed, as Lanza, so long their chief, laments in the lachrymose letter which he has lately addressed to Professor Sbarbaro. "The phalanx," he exclaims, "which made Italy has in a great measure disappeared; the few who still remain either live apart out of disgust or weariness, or are impotent for good because overborne by the crowd greedy to push themselves forward."

But then, others will say, there is the country—*real* Italy as the *Civiltà* calls it in contradistinction to the factions which meddle with politics and guide, or aspire to guide, public affairs. There is no more Conservative country in the world than Italy, say they; never will it endure a Republic on its soil. This might, perhaps, have been true, replies the *Civiltà*, some twenty years ago, but after eighteen years of *regeneration* things are a good deal changed. The real country is now for the greater part reduced to a state of powerlessness; the remainder has been corrupted. Where true Christian sentiments are to be met with, and genuine patriotism, you will also find a mistrust of men and of things which is quite appalling. Where these sentiments do not exist, or exist but slightly, a gradual perversion of ideas may be noticed, a disorderly life and an unbridled cupidity, which promise anything but discipline and vigour when Conservative battles have to be waged. Besides, both these classes fret and groan in a state of discontent with Government to such a degree that perhaps in no country of Europe could you find a similar state of dissatisfaction. And the reason is, that in no other country is the overwhelming majority of its citizens so tyrannised over by an oligarchical minority, or has its rights and liberties so grossly violated and trampled upon. Hence arises a state

of latent hostility, manifesting itself in a passive rather than an active resistance, which gives occasion to the ruling Liberals to say that the nation is apathetic, cold, sceptical, and indifferent. But the truth is, that in spite of all contrary appearances, in spite of the feigned enthusiasms, which are bought or got up to order, a fire is smouldering under the cinders and menacing the stability of the revolutionary Monarchy. Whoever travels about the country, and converses a little with different classes of persons, will be disposed to adopt the conclusion that the Italians reckon that they have but one enemy, and this enemy is the collective and personal entity of the Government, against which no abusive epithet or malediction which they can utter seems to them too strong.

The *Civiltà*, while confidently stating this as a fact, calls it a deplorable and alarming fact, for contempt of social authority, whatever it may be, is always a calamity. Its existence suffices, however, to show how easy any political change undertaken by a bold party might prove. For it must be borne in mind that in the great mass of the population, ignorant, simple, stupid, bewildered, and wrong-headed folk abound, who are ready to attribute all the evils which have afflicted their country ever since the revolution was effected, not to its erroneous principles, alike opposed to conscience and destructive of the well-being and liberty of the nation, but to the men who have hitherto been officially employed in applying them. From this common popular delusion comes that restless expectation and that longing for a change which besets so many who would eagerly welcome any revolution as giving some hope of deliverance from present evils and the installation of a better state of things, more resembling that which existed formerly and which they regret, although silently, out of human respect. Now, on all this class, the preparers of the Republic may depend for express or tacit acquiescence.

Besides, they have had the art to throw out an attractive bait. It has already been noted that unity was created in Italy before men had learnt to desire it. The result was the existence of a permanent craving after an autonomous administration of the divers regions into which the Peninsula is geographically and nationally divided; regions which have been hastily associated, and are held together in a unity which is rather mechanical than organic. After eighteen years of artificial existence this desire, called by the Italians *regionalismo*, still gnaws like a canker at the vitals of the nation. This is a fact too patent to need proof. Moreover, this hankering after decentralisation is by no means limited to *real* Italy, but is on the increase in *legal* Italy. Now, the Republicans, astutely profiting by this state of men's minds, have put forth a most seductive programme, that of a confederation of the different states of Italy united in political unity, but each enjoying its separate legislation. It was a happy thought; and were the plan accomplished with all that ought to accompany it, it might well be generally hailed as a boon. Signor Alberti Mario, in advocating it, declares that it is the only system applicable to Italy and, as the Parliamentary Right, or Monarchical party, cannot effect it, he deduces

the consequence that it will doubtless (and in all probability pacifically) be brought about by the Left, the democratic party, or what that party calls *evolved*. The *Civiltà* expresses a strong conviction that the Republicans will make little or nothing of this programme, and that, were it realised, its autonomous regions would speedily be converted into so many nests of local tyranny, increasing confusion instead of consolidating unity. But try and persuade the ignorant multitude of this if you can! So the multitude will probably accept the project of a regional Republic with at least as much favour as they welcomed that of a united Monarchy, and will greet it, if the day should come, with the same species of enthusiasm. The *Civiltà* is far from desiring this climax. It sees no good which Italy can derive from this so-called *evolution*, by which from a Monarchy it will be transformed into a Republic; on the contrary, it foresees yet worse evils in store as the result; nevertheless, while withholding the expression of any positive opinion on the subject, it cannot but perceive that the possibility of setting up a Republic in Italy is not so remote a contingency as some would have it. Its durability is quite another question; no Government, it considers, can have any stability which is founded, not on eternal right and justice, but on the godless principles of the revolution. Passing from reasons based on the aspect of affairs and state of men's minds to those grounded on the providential dealings of God, it is impossible not to regard the threatened collapse as a well-merited and therefore not improbable chastisement. As men sow, they will also reap. In order to put down all opposition to unity and remove every adverse element, the Monarchists have done their utmost to corrupt the people and the rising generation. They have patronised profligacy, irreligion, impiety, atheism, if by any means, however nefarious, they might eradicate from Italian hearts devotion to the Papacy, which they regard as the greatest impediment to the consolidation of their work. They have sown corruption, that they might rear a people at once attached to the united Monarchy and anti-Papal, and they find themselves confronted, along with the public hatred which their work of national depravation has called down on them, by a population largely imbued with democratic and Republican aspirations, and therefore anti-Monarchical. The present generation, Lanza complains in his letter to Sbarbaro, has derived no benefit from its education; "it promises," he says, "little that is good." Simpleton that he is! Whose fault, nay, whose crime is it, if the rising generation gives this evil promise!

In conclusion, if the revolutionary Monarchists have reaped national hatred, threatening them with a just retribution for their misdeeds, so also have they contracted terrible debts to Divine justice. Their sins against the Decalogue and the wrongs they have done to the Church of Jesus Christ pass all comprehension. God will not be mocked; sooner or later, He always takes account and exacts payment; and where these debts have been incurred solemnly, publicly, He is wont to exact their payment manifestly and publicly, and even in this world; and, if the day of reckoning is delayed and the fathers seem to escape,

then it overtakes the children. God has hitherto been wonderfully patient with the Italian revolution. It has taken occasion to glory in its impunity, and to condemn and defy the long-suffering of the Most High. But the longer vengeance is delayed, the more tremendous, we may be sure, it will be. Every time, say the writers in the *Civiltà*, that they look at the Vatican and reflect on the condition to which for eight years it has reduced the throne of Jesus Christ upon earth, they shudder. God, they hope, in compassion for so many of their compatriots whose hands are clean of this crying offence, the imprisonment of Jesus Christ in His Vicar, may mitigate the chastisement, but come it assuredly will in some form and in some degree. We give their concluding paragraph. "The Liberals who eighteen years ago demolished historic and Catholic Italy, to fabricate the system which they have substituted in its place, were the instruments of the justice of God to execute His mysterious designs. The democrats who are now labouring to ruin the Italy which was thus manufactured eighteen years ago, are another instrument of the same Divine justice to execute other no less mysterious designs. But whatever may be about to happen, whether the Monarchy stand, or the Republic supplant it, we are certain that history will one day record that the final issue of the Italian Revolution was a full, manifest, and most splendid triumph of Jesus Christ living and reigning, ever invincible and ever victorious, in the Vatican."

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

(By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.)

THE present Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW has desired me to contribute to the New Series a quarterly review of our prominent Catholic periodicals in Germany. I feel extremely gratified in complying with his request. A good many reasons prompt me to do so. As Catholics we are all of us sons of one and the same Mother, we belong to the same spiritual family, and are nourished by the same spiritual doctrine and wisdom. The periodicals, therefore, we intend each quarter to review are the *Katholik*, the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, the *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, and the *Periodische Blätter*. Occasionally we shall also mention the *Literärische Rundschau* and the *Literärische Handweiser*.

1. The *Katholik*, a "periodical of Catholic science and life," was founded about fifty years ago, and was for a long time very well conducted under the editorship of Dr. Raess and Dr. Weiss, two eminent ecclesiastics, who afterwards became Bishops of Spire and Strasburg respectively. A diligent contributor to the *Katholik* in the first years of the publication was Joseph von Görres, whom, on account of his admirable writings and powerful style, Napoleon I. called the fifth great European power. In 1859 the present editors, Dr. Heinrich, Dean, and Dr. Moufang, Canon, of Mayence, began a new series of this

able periodical, and summoned the Catholic divines of Germany to help them. The *Katholik* calls itself a periodical of "Catholic Science and Life," a name which it deserves quite unexceptionally. From the beginning it has been a stronghold of the faith, defending that precious heirloom against a great many novel doctrines both in philosophy and theology. We only mention the system of Dr. Hermes, Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn, who, under the influence of Kant's philosophy, confounded the *objectum seu motivum formale fidei* with the *motiva credibilitatis*. This grievous mistake resulted in grievous injury to the faith, which has for its ground only the Divine authority. Hermes's system, as well as that of Anthony Günther, priest of the Vienna Archdiocese, who fell into Plato's error, and taught a threefold composition in man—body, soul, and spirit—were strongly and effectually opposed by the *Katholik*, to which also Catholic Germany owes the refutation of the errors of Döllinger. A glance at the most important and successful articles published since 1859 in the *Katholik* shows that it has always aimed at following S. Thomas of Aquin, and bringing his doctrines again into prominence in Germany. In the issues for September, October, and November last we beg to call attention to a very solid treatise on the nature of the Fire of Hell, which the author demonstrates not to consist in mere interior pains of conscience, but to be really and truly an exterior natural fire. At great length he proves his thesis by a full explanation of those passages of the Old and New Testament which refer to the subject, and of the doctrine of the Fathers in all ages. The words of Patuzzi (*De futuro impiorum statu*, lib. ii. cap. 7), "ex Catholicis neminem fore puto, qui inferi ignem verum et corporeum esse negare ausit," are thus strongly vindicated. The September number gives us the doctrine of S. Ignatius of Antioch on the Divinity of our Lord, as expounded in his celebrated seven Letters addressed to the Christian Churches of Asia Minor. Another article treats on the Christians in the Arena. Lastly, we have an account of the recent session of the Görres Association, held in Cologne last August. Founded in 1876, on the centenary of the birth of our greatest publicist, it aims to promote Catholic science in Germany, to help younger scholars in publishing scientific works, and to put forth every year a certain number of solid pamphlets discussing those "burning questions" so rife in Germany nowadays. One of the most important undertakings of the Society is to publish a Catholic State Dictionary (*Staatslexicon*), which may combat the countless dangerous falsehoods spread in so many influential quarters about the rights of the Church, the relation between natural and positive law, the nature of the State and its relation to the family, and the rights of parents over their children. I myself was desired last year by the President of the Association to publish an explanation of the idea to be realised in the State Dictionary, and to arrange and classify the subjects to be treated. Having discharged this task to the best of my ability, I laid the result of my labour before the Association, whose committee approved of it. In the same issue of the *Katholik* I gave an account of

the Rev. William Greaney's excellent little guide to S. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham. The October number continues the treatise on the Fire of Hell; it contains also a full history of the question of Duplication. For the first centuries the Church allowed greater freedom on this point; but in the course of time, and principally from the eighth century, when the *stipendia missarum* were introduced, the legislation of the Church no longer permitted the priest to duplicate, except in certain cases expressly named by the law. The present discipline of the Church is most accurately explained. Besides this admirable historical investigation, we find a translation of a letter which Cardinal Deschamps, Archbishop of Malines, has addressed to his clergy and flock about the attempts of the Brussels magistrates to suppress the old Catholic cemeteries, and to force on Catholics undenominational burying-places. One of the best contributions to the November issue is a paper on Plato's Anthropology, and his doctrine about the immortality of the soul as treated in the *Phædo*. We purpose commenting on it at greater length when the second part is published. Another paper gives an interesting account of Father Palmieri's last work, which appeared under the title *Tractatus de Deo creante et elevante*. Palmieri is known as one of the most able professors of the Roman College. We very willingly acknowledge that he deserves great credit for his wide learning, though we dislike his criticism of S. Thomas of Aquin, some of whose doctrines, principally those concerning matter and form, he departs from.

2. Next to the *Katholik* ranks the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, founded about forty years ago by Joseph von Görres, and now edited by Dr. Förg and Dr. Binder. Dr. Förg, a layman, and prefect of the archives in Landshut, Bavaria, was one of the most influential Catholic speakers in the dissolved German Diet, and is beyond any doubt one of the best and most far-sighted publicists in Germany. Twenty years ago Dr. Förg published a History of Protestantism in its recent development. Since then he has continually contributed to the above-named periodical papers on the Eastern Question, and on the development of the Social Question in Germany. In his last great speech, delivered in the Diet on occasion of the new bill against the Socialists, he showed the inexpediency and inutility of such a law, which would never provide a remedy against the evils of Socialism—evils so deeply rooted in the body of the people that only moral and religious means can overcome them. He continues his considerations on that law in the number of the *Historisch-politische Blätter* for October. If any one desires to obtain an accurate idea of the effects of a law which strives to suppress the social democracy in the public life of the nation, he needs must bear in mind what that party really means at this present moment, and how it has succeeded in spreading its doctrines. It is hardly a political party, but, at least in its centres, quite a distinct *class* of the people—a people within the people, like the Jews—with a particular religion, and that religion is nothing else than the system of Darwin. For the issue of 15th October I began the first of four articles on the restoration of the hierarchy in Scotland. I also gave an

account of Professor Hergenröther's pamphlet on Cardinal Maury, a partisan of Napoleon, who intruded that unhappy Churchman as Archbishop on the diocese of Paris against the will of Pius VII. The same issue has an article on the new Ministry in Belgium, and a description of Ostia by Rev. Dr. Sebastian Brunner, of Vienna, who sends almost every year some account of his visits to remarkable places of Italy. Further on we find, in the issue of November 1, an account of an English book which was translated into German by Count Coudenhove, Canon of Vienna. "Spellman's Sacrilege, its History and Fate," was last brought out in London in 1846, and Cardinal Wiseman wrote a preface to that edition. It is to be regretted that the Cardinal's wish that the book might be translated into other languages has so long remained unfulfilled as far as Germany is concerned. The number of November 16 contains, besides other valuable articles, a very clever paper on "The Authority of the Roman Law strengthened by the Reformation." The enemies of the Catholic Church in Germany find fault with her for being ultramontane. Nevertheless, it can be evidently demonstrated, and the author of our paper does it, that the Reformation is ultramontane in quite another and far more dangerous sense, because it completed the victory of Roman Law, by which our old national "law" was either superseded or totally changed. "Protestantism," says one of the principal leaders of the German Socialists, Herr Liebknecht, "is the religion of private property . . . and, because it vindicates to men the right of gathering and accumulating worldly treasures, is the religion of the *bourgeoisie*."

3. The *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* is conducted by the German Jesuit fathers, who formerly resided in the monastery of St. Maria on the lake of Laach, near Coblenz; but who by our recent legislation were obliged to live abroad. This periodical deserves the praise of being foremost in defending the rights of the Catholic Church against her enemies, whether statesmen or the professors of that so-called modern "science" which has lost supernatural faith. Hence the motto of this excellent periodical: "For the Church, against all her enemies." The October issue opens with an essay of Father Knabenbauer on "Revelation and the Right of Personal Conviction," respecting the error of Stuart Mill that a scientific man can only cling to scepticism, neither to faith on the one hand, nor to atheism on the other; and showing evidently that the books of the New Testament do not insist upon anything more than on the unity of faith, excluding all private judgment in matters of religion. As nobody is allowed to follow his personal conviction, and to seize on the property of his neighbour which he may desire to possess, so still less can a man be permitted to insist on his so-called personal convictions, and refuse submission to Divine revelation; because that revelation, being *evidenter credibilis*, cannot but claim submission from every man. "The unfavourable side of the condition of the Catholic Church in the United States of North America" is the title of a paper written by Father Baumgartner. It deals with the great difficulties experienced by the American bishops in regard to "trustees." Father Spillman contributes an "Episode of the Ecclesiastical History

of Scotland," dwelling mainly on Father Ogilvey, who suffered for the faith in Glasgow.

4. Professor Scheeben, of the Great Seminary of Cologne, is the editor of the *Periodische Blätter*, "for the discussion of the great religious questions of our time." He is highly appreciated in Germany as one of the most thoughtful philosophers and theologians on the Catholic side. By his *Mysteries of Christianity* and his *Dogmatic Theology*, which last year was so favourably spoken of in the DUBLIN REVIEW, he is known also to the English public. In Numbers 8, 9, 10 he gives an explanation of the Encyclical by which Leo XIII. initiated his Pontificate; and also a good history of the incredible struggles which the Catholics in Switzerland have had to undergo under the Governments of Geneva, Bern, and Soleure. It is the most exhaustive history of this terrible episode in our civilised century we ever met with.

5. Last, but not least, we call attention to two good critical Catholic journals, the *Literarische Rundschau*, edited by Rev. Köhler in Paderborn, and the *Literarische Handweiser*, published by the Rev. Dr. Huelskamp, in Münster.

Notices of Books.

O'Connell Centenary Record, 1875. Published by Authority of the O'Connell Centenary Committee. Dublin: Joseph Dolland, 1878.

A LARGE and sumptuous volume, of more than 600 pages, has been issued by the O'Connell Centenary Committee to commemorate what took place, not only in Ireland, but in America and Australia and England and Scotland, on the three never-to-be-forgotten days of August, 1875. In addition to the innumerable letters, speeches, and reports of meetings, and to the detailed accounts of the proceedings of the Committee, this enormous book contains a most complete and valuable history of the Liberator himself, and of the circumstances in which he lived, fought, and conquered. The instructive story of emancipation is told minutely and effectively. An admirable sketch of the Irish Education question, to which a new chapter must now be added, reminds us of what is too apt to be forgotten among the exciting incidents of the hero's public life, that he founded the Richmond Street Schools, and threw himself heart and soul into the movement for free Catholic education. Perhaps nothing has been more wonderful in the history of the last fifty years than the firmness of the Irish people and their clergy in resisting State-control over their education, and rejecting the bribes that have been offered to induce them to submit to it; and to O'Connell's power and insight, and to the efforts of the Christian Brothers, whom he loved and helped with all his might, Ireland owes in great measure both the courage and the intelligence with which she

has borne herself in this vital struggle. Several of the orations which are here printed will take a permanent place in literature. The sermon of Archbishop Croke, in the Cathedral of Dublin, dwelt, with some self-denial, there can be no doubt, on the Catholic spirit of the great ruler of men; a subject on which the speaker had not by any means the same chance of rousing enthusiasm as had those who spoke from platforms and spoke politically. Yet O'Connell's "religion" was a controlling and regulating force which during his lifetime kept him from losing his balance on the giddy height of boundless popularity, and which secured him a triumph that will last for ever. The panegyrist in the Cathedral, with the true instinct of a bishop, felt that it was his place to hush into silence for a moment the tumult of joyful enthusiasm, and to point out, with weighty words, the great truth that Ireland, to be victorious and free, must cling to her ancient crosses and shrines, even while she fights the battle of political freedom. It is O'Connell's greatest glory that he knew this. *"Summa religio—fides incorrupta—erga sanctam hanc Apostolicam Sedem obsequium singulare"*—this was the eulogium pronounced by Pius IX. himself upon O'Connell. "For us in Ireland," said Lord O'Hagan, "it will be good to remember that the most fearless champion of our liberty was also the most docile child of the Church, and the most resolute defender of her integrity and independence. I pray you to lay this lesson to heart." "O'Connell," said Cardinal Cullen—(may he rest in peace!), "was a devoted child of the Church." One of the speeches in this Record is that delivered by Mr. Wendell Phillips, in the music-hall at Boston, on the chief day of the celebration. Mr. Phillips's oration is fine, generous, and full of interesting details. It is true, he pays the great Irishman a compliment he would scarcely have appreciated when he compares him with Martin Luther. The Catholics present could hardly have helped feeling hurt when a dishonest and disappointed railer—though he was a genius of a sort—was named in the same paragraph with the man who gave his very life for the holy and patriotic principles which he cherished in childhood as in mature age, in his most inmost prayers as in his public career. Yet the speaker confessed that he was "the foremost Catholic of his age, the most stalwart champion of the Church." The centenary of the birth of O'Connell was a popular festival much more full of significance to statesmen, to philosophers, and to all thinking men than such festivals usually are. The resurrection of Ireland—and her resurrection with her Catholic faith safe and undiminished—is a fact which proves the existence of a force very distinct from any of the forces of which political science ordinarily takes note. As the embodiment of a hidden and tremendous power which God calls into play from time to time in the world's history, and as the champion whose arm was clothed with its thunder, O'Connell's figure grows greater every day. After a hundred orators have declaimed, and a hundred poets sung, the great, broad facts of his career and its consequences will never grow commonplace. Every eye that can see will be arrested, and every mind that can reflect will continue to learn the lesson.

Lives of the Early Popes. By the Rev. THOMAS MEYRICK, M.A.
London: Washbourn, 1878.

FATHER MEYRICK has rendered a good service to English Catholics by publishing several very interesting lives of national saints. He has now written the lives of the early Popes, and has thus afforded the laity an opportunity of becoming familiar with the many interesting incidents which attach themselves to the history of the *Martyr-Popes*.

Those who are well acquainted with the Roman Breviary will meet in Father Meyrick's new work many of those beautiful narratives which the Church has culled from the Acts of the Martyrs and placed in the Lectionary of the Divine Office. These brief recitals of the heroic sufferings of the Saints lose none of their beauty and charm under the gifted pen of the Jesuit Father.

Much useful information has been appended to this series of Roman Pontiffs who sat in S. Peter's Chair up to the fall of heathenism. After treating of this last important event of the Church's history, the author gives us an appendix in which he treats of the Cardinals, of the catacombs, and of the birthplace of S. Helena.

It would, perhaps, have been more judicious if Father Meyrick had eliminated from his pages several statements now no longer considered as historical. Thus he tells us that S. Paul probably preached in Spain, Gaul, and Britain, as S. Peter is said to have done (p. 6). In the previous page he declines entering upon any discussion with regard to such controverted questions. To our mind little room is left at present for any discussion whatever, inasmuch as all modern historians are pretty well agreed as to their rejection.

No less uncritical and injudicious is the admission in his pages of the supposed fall of Pope S. Marcellinus, and his consequent repentance before a Synod assembled at Sinuessa. This story is now universally rejected by ecclesiastical writers. Amongst these are found Pope Benedict XIV. and Mgr. Hefele. The latter in his learned history of the Councils assures us that the authenticity both of the Pope's fall and of the acts of the subsequent Synod is now unanimously rejected both by Catholics and Protestants. The whole tale was stigmatised by S. Augustine, of Hippo, as a Donatist calumny. More than this, there is no trace in history that such a scandal was ever heard of in the East. The testimony of Greek historians is entirely favourable to the martyred Pontiff. Eusebius mentions his martyrdom, but makes no allusion whatever to any previous fall. Theodoret expressly commends the Saint for his conduct during persecution, and his worthy constancy.

Father Meyrick may perhaps refer us to the pages of the Roman Breviary, and bid us be satisfied with what the Church has deemed fit for our perusal and edification. This argument is plausible, but admits of a very satisfactory answer. In the first place, these *legenda* emanated originally from private and unauthorised sources. The Church does not vouch in any way for the historical correctness of facts which they may contain, but reserves to herself the power of

rejecting them whenever she may consider it advisable. There is no question that when the Breviary of S. Pius V. was drawn up, a great number of "proper" lessons were condemned as apocryphal and expunged from the Breviary. At the time of this revision the authenticity of the acts of the Synod of Sinuessa was generally accepted; no one had as yet called their veracity in question. Hence the lessons of the feast of S. Marcellinus were left as they had stood for some centuries. Now that the consensus of Church historians is unanimous against the truth of the statements those lessons contain, there can be little doubt that the Church would here exercise her power of revision and rejection, did she deem it necessary at some future time to re-examine the *legenda* of the Breviary.

We do not consider it at all necessary to enter upon the question of the Donations of Constantine, since that point is one upon which modern historians are no less unanimous. We hope that Father Meyrick will continue the good work he has begun, and by his labours make the Roman Pontiffs better known, revered, and loved.

The School Manager; his Office and Duties. By T. G. WENHAM, Canon of Southwark. London: Burns and Oates, 1878.

THIS is a very complete manual of principles, suggestions, instructions, and hints for the benefit of those who have to "manage," often with considerable discomfort to themselves, our elementary schools. The "School Manager" is generally a priest, although Canon Wenham is of opinion that the priest is often too much afraid of associating with himself a few of the leading members of his congregation. There are obvious reasons why a priest should stand a little in dread of a Board of this kind. But Canon Wenham thinks that when such a Board is really admitted to a share of the responsible management, and invited to meet occasionally to hear how the school is going on, to deliberate on any question of more importance, to provide for any extraordinary expenditure, to audit accounts, to draw up a report or an appeal, then the system will generally be found to work well. The difficulty, however, which meets the clerical manager is this: if he has a large mission he has too many who are qualified to help him, and he must make a selection, and to make a selection is often to sow a crop of troubles; if his district is small, he must enlist every one who has any pretensions, and the trouble of managing *them* is more than the trouble of begging and slaving for his schools. For our part, we think we shall have to have more recourse to "Boards" than we anticipate. Our large towns are divided into independent parishes or districts, and a merely parochial or district organisation is certain to fail in dealing with the larger questions affecting education in a great town. A parish Board cannot make head against the School Board, and its efforts at financial and administrative work must be so restricted that it becomes discouraged and demoralised. Country districts of moderate size might have their district Boards of Management to assist

the priest, but we are convinced that in large towns there will have to be a uniform town organisation, directed by the superior authority, which shall thoroughly work every part of the town for the good of the whole, by carrying out a system of house-to-house collection, and of quasi-compulsion. We notice from the reports in the Catholic papers that a scheme like this has already been tried in some parts of the kingdom. The objection to it is, that a priest will often spend himself and be spent for his school when he is directly responsible first, whilst if he has merely to act under a Board, he very plausibly considers he may leave its interests to the Board's care, and thus we substitute cold officialism for apostolic labour. There is no doubt much force in this, and it is a question of practical compromise. But it will always be true that union, system, and organisation are, as such, stronger than the want of them. We are threatened with the universal creation of Government ragged or industrial schools which will sweep every child from the streets. If that be so, we know where one-fourth of our own poor little Arabs will go. Parish or district organisation will be powerless in the face of such a danger as this. It will also be of little avail against the temptations which the Board schools are adding to every year, against the offer they are going to make to teach our children their own Catholic religion, and against the increasing salaries they are giving to masters and mistresses. The Board schools are only just beginning to exist. The mortar between their stones is not set, and their abundant paint is hardly dry, and the ratepayers are sore over the preliminary expense. But in a year or two these things will be forgotten. The mighty machinery of the "rate" will be available for improvements, for lavish provision and outfit, for prizes, and for the best possible teaching staff. Our coming generation of Irish Catholics will not be so sensitive on the subject of orthodoxy as even the parents who, at this moment, are the plague and the glory of our priests. It is quite possible that if we cannot plant our school near every labourer's hearth, and open our door very wide, and look very closely after every family and every penny, the losses of the Catholic Church by the loss of the rising generation may grow to be much larger than they are at the present time. Therefore, it would seem, we ought to sacrifice a great deal in order to secure the possibility of widely extended and unanimous action. Meanwhile, every manager who takes seriously to heart that question of education which is now and will be for many years the Church's actual battle-field, cannot but profit, in principles and details, from the lucid pages of Canon Wenham's manual. He treats, in a clear and methodical manner, of the responsibilities and difficulties of managers, of the secrets of school management, of the manager's duties, of his relations to the teacher, to the pupil-teacher, to the children, to the parents, and to the Education Department. In his dedication he tells us he is "retiring" from the work of education; we trust that this may not be literally true.

The Speaker's Commentary; or, the Holy Bible, according to the Authorised Version (A.D. 1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by Canon COOK, of Exeter. New Testament. Vol. I. SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke. London: John Murray, 1878.

THIS Commentary was begun fifteen years ago, at the suggestion of the Speaker of the House of Commons. The Old Testament is completed, and now is published the first volume of the New. Such a work, professing to be by bishops and clergy of the Anglican Church, is a very important addition to the literature of the Bible, and most interesting to Catholics. To undertake a revision of the Authorised Version was a bold thing; but to attempt a Commentary was a bolder. Both attempts are very damaging to the old Protestant notion of the Bible and Bible only. To revise and alter the text is to confess its imperfection. To add note and comment is to admit that people cannot understand it by themselves, which is the old superstition of the Bible societies. Such an attempt, fairly and competently carried out, will be hailed with satisfaction by Catholics. It is needless to say that on questions of geography, archæology, and textual criticism, the Speaker's Commentary, being the work of Biblical scholars, leaves little to be desired. Its main strength lies in the defence of the Gospels against infidel attacks—in other words, in doing the office of "break-water." Here we find less of the spirit of compromise, less fear of the supernatural, and a greater courage of their convictions, than usually mark the theological utterances of Anglicanism. But the difficulty in such a Commentary really lies in dealing fairly with doctrinal passages—the battle-fields of theological war in every age. We notice that the writers show a prudent desire to keep clear of such dangerous ground when they can. And when they cannot, they do their best to be fair to both sides. Even on the burning questions of Catholic controversy, great impartiality and very little bigotry are manifested.

The most valuable part of the present volume is the general introduction to the Gospels by Dr. Thomson, the Archbishop of York, who wrote articles in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible on "the Gospels," and on each of the four Evangelists. These he has here rewritten and somewhat condensed, though without substantial change, except that perhaps he is a bit the more outspoken. He has no sympathy with theories of "original documents," which no one ever saw, or with the fancied "tendencies" of certain German scholars. He relies on the oral teachings of the Apostles as the best explanation of similarity of narrative, and on the public worship of the Church as "the means of the establishment of the four Gospels in their place of eminence." He is less disposed than before to believe in an original Hebrew version of S. Matthew. At all events, he is quite sure that our Greek Gospel is not a translation. He admits the traditional account of S. Mark's connexion with S. Peter, but with considerable reluctance, as it implies the truth of the Catholic interpretation of S. Peter's Babylon as meaning Rome. Marcius' much-talked-of Gospel, the favourite

stalking-horse of rationalists, he proves to be simply an heretical mutilation and corruption of S. Luke. In maintaining the Divine Authority of the Gospel, he rests the Gospel on the Church, and not the Church on the Gospels, as Protestants generally do. He disclaims what he calls the mechanical theory of Inspiration, and adopts the old Jewish view, which admitted degrees in inspiration, and taught "that God inspired the prophet through his reason and mind, and that the more the prophet was left in the possession of his natural powers and reason, the higher the grade of inspiration." (p. iv.)

On the question of the Genealogies, Dean Mansel favours the more recent view: "That S. Matthew gives the table of royal succession to the throne of David, while S. Luke gives that of actual descent." On the divorce question he evidently thinks the Council of Trent right, and is anxious to screen the Anglican Church from the reproach of allowing the re-marriage of divorced persons. Neither is there any attempt to explain away our Lord's words about celibacy. On the Last Supper the candid admission is made—"that '*My body*' must be understood literally of the actual body of Christ, any other sense being excluded by the additional words '*which is given for you,*' recorded by S. Luke, and confirmed by S. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 24)" (p. 158). Christ's words to S. Peter, the very touchstone of Anglican heresy, are more candidly explained than might have been expected. The old distinction between *περπο* and *περπα*, on which Protestants lay such stress, is quite discarded; the common evasions of our Lord's meaning, it is said, "can hardly be regarded as natural interpretations, missing as they do the verbal allusion to Peter's name" (pp. 84, 85.) It is pleasing to find a Protestant Commentary which speaks of our Blessed Lady with respect, if not with devotion, and rejects unworthy ideas of her, such, for instance, as Helvidius taught. The authenticity of the last verses of S. Mark is well defended by Canon Hook. Universalists will not find much comfort in his explanation of such words as *αιωνιος*. We regret to see, that despite "the general verdict of critical scholars" in favour of the Catholic rendering of the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Protestant *manipimus* is retained and defended. On the whole, we think that if the Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament is carried on as honestly and learnedly as it is began, Catholicism will have nothing to fear, but much to hope.

Our Flag, a Lay of the Pontifical Zouaves, and other Poems. By KATHERINE MARY STONE. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1878.

"OUR FLAG" is dedicated "to the memory of the dead, to the honour of the surviving, soldiers of Pius IX., by one who during ten years was the daily witness of their piety and heroism." It is a spirited narrative of the brave deeds done by the Papal Brigade in defence of the temporal power by a gifted lady, who was not only, as she says, "a daily witness," but a constant fellow-worker, in the hospital and on the field, and a sharer to the full of all the Zouaves' pious heroism.

It is pleasant to meet a volume such as this on Catholic topics, and written, too, by a lady, which does not need to have its literary sins and would-be poetic attempts forgiven for the sake of its subject and the author's aim. Mrs. Stone writes poetry with considerable skill; some of her ballads, especially, have the true ring, and have not a little wealth of imagery. "Our Flag" will be an acceptable *souvenir* to all who joined in, or who admired the devotion of those who joined in, the modern crusade. The poem is pleasing reading, and burns in not a few places with the writer's own enthusiasm in the holy cause. When, in 1867, the French troops had abandoned Rome, and the Holy Father recalled the Zouaves to guard the city, the appeal was answered by a generous few from almost every land of Christendom—Bretons, Netherlanders, Belgians, French, Irish, Irish Americans, Canadians—gathered together as "a rescuing host," and

Scant tho' its muster be,
Brave hearts count double in the strife
For home and altars free!
As Gideon's men at arms rolled back
The tide of pagan war;
As spoke the Macchabæan chief
From Modin's hills of yore:
"Better to die in battle-field
Than with our eyes to see
The desolation of the land
And God's high sanctuary!"
So, in a fall'n and faithless time,
The foeman at our gate,
The traitor in our leaguered walls,
Mark for the scorn and hate
Of godless pirate, king forsworn,
Christ's banner we unfurl'd;
Vowed to maintain in arms His realm
Against a rebel world!

(p. 13.)

The other poems in the volume are miscellaneous, but almost all sound a similar note to "Our Flag." Mrs. Stone's sympathies are with the brave, who struggle even without success for right against might.

An Introduction to the Devout Life. By S. FRANCIS OF SALES. A New Translation. Edited by the Rev. W. T. B. RICHARDS. London: Burns and Oates.

ANY one, who, like Father Richards, brings a work of unquestionable value within the reach of those who carry slender purses, does good service to the Catholic cause, and merits both the thanks and the encouragement of the entire body. His edition of that most excellent book, "the Devout Life," by the sainted Bishop of Geneva, has the threefold merit of being ably translated, beautifully printed, and of a price so moderate, that we hope even the poorest will be able to procure a copy.

Catholic Belief. By the Very Rev. JOSEPH FAA DI BRUNO, D.D.
Second Edition, revised. London : Burns and Oates, 1878.

THIS handy little book, so full of information upon Catholic belief and practice, has deservedly reached a second edition. Containing, as it does, a brief and clear explanation of nearly all the questions whereon we are at issue with Protestantism, it is admirably adapted to catch the attention, and to stimulate the inquiries of those who are searching for the truth. The clergy would do well to have always on hand a supply of this unpretending but eminently useful work. A more succinct or simple explanation of many vexed questions it would be difficult to find, and therefore few books could be more suitably placed in the hands of those who come to seek instruction in our holy faith.

Month dedicated to the Seraphic Patriarch S. Francis. Translated from the Italian of Father CANDIDO MARIOTTI, with a Commendatory Letter from his Eminence CARDINAL MANNING. London : Burns and Oates, 1878.

THAT widespread organisation, so well known among us as the third Order of S. Francis, is a striking proof of the deep love for the Seraphic Patriarch which has laid hold of the hearts of our people. All who have the privilege of belonging to it will hail with pleasure the appearance in English of Father Mariotti's work. From its pages they will learn to know him more intimately, and that knowledge will incite them to love and to imitate him, as far as may be, in their daily lives.

1. *The Bible Atlas, to illustrate the Old and New Testaments.*
2. *Countries of the Bible, combining the Old Testament with the New.*
Edinburgh : W. & A. K. Johnston.

WE would recommend any one interested in the study of the Bible to procure this little shilling Atlas. Protestants have made a great study of Biblical topography, and there can be no reason why we should not profit by their researches. The Atlas contains sixteen different maps. The only fault we have to find with the Atlas, as indeed with some other of Messrs. K. Johnston's publications, is a want of distinctness in their colours: thus the brown and the red are scarcely distinguishable.

The "Wall Map of the Countries of the Bible" is very well drawn, clear, distinct, and not overloaded. In this Map the Old Testament, New Testament, and classical names are distinguished either by colours or type, so that at a glance you can see to what period the name belongs. Here, again, we confess to being not quite satisfied with the colouring. References are made only to green, brown, and red. We should say that Italy and Cappadocia, for instance, are coloured yellow. Again, no explanation is given why Gomer (Gallia) should be light

green, and Gomer (in Asia) light red, or possibly brown. The Map has the further disadvantage, for Catholics, of following King James's, not the Vulgate, edition of the Bible for its names. This is a disadvantage inseparable from every Protestant publication. Having said this much by way of criticism, we think that it is not an exaggeration to add that this is the best Wall Map of the Bible countries (it contains really nine maps), ever published. It will be an important acquisition to our Schools and Colleges.

A Voyage in the "Sunbeam;" our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months.

By Mrs. BRASSEY. Seventh Edition. London: Longmans.

WE receive, just as we are going to press, the seventh edition of "A Voyage in the Sunbeam." Considering that Mr. and Mrs. Brassey only returned to England, after their eleven months' voyage round the world, in May, 1877, the number of editions which Mrs. Brassey's book has already gone through speaks well for its deserved popularity.

We have in this volume the picture of an English family, blessed with prosperity, wealth, intelligence, and natural goodness, making a tour of the world in the easiest and pleasantest way imaginable. It would probably be rather dull to be confined to the society of any one estimable family for eleven months, and we confess to being just a little glad to get the family back to their magnificent halls at Battle, after enjoying Mrs. Brassey's diary and reflections through nearly 500 pages. The book, however, is written in that chatty way which makes it easy reading, and people who want to pick up a little information in an easy way cannot do better than read it. It will naturally be a favourite work with yachting people; and it is so beautifully got up, and is enriched with such excellent charts and woodcuts from original drawings, that it is just the book for a Christmas present or a New Year's gift. The most interesting sketches are those of Rio Janeiro, Tahiti, the Sandwich Islands, and Japan. There is an entire absence of anti-Catholic bigotry throughout the book; one little mistake, however, occurs in the description of the burning of the Church of the Compañia, in Santiago. But Mrs. Brassey is not responsible for this. The whole voyage, 35,400 miles, was accomplished in the unprecedented time of forty-two weeks, out of which sixteen weeks were spent on shore.

Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, holden at Lambeth Palace, July, 1878. Letter from the Bishops. &c. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

AFTER the almost national interest taken in the proceedings of the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, we are not surprised that Englishmen looked with indifference upon the doings and results of the second Lambeth Conference. The *Times* reflected as usual the mind of the upper classes when it alluded to that episcopal gathering

as a meeting on a large scale of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

If Protestant England did not think it worth its while to trouble itself about this demonstration, Catholics could not do much else but shrug their shoulders and smile.

The result of the deliberations at Lambeth are as little worthy of notice as the assembly itself, if we look merely for wisdom in ecclesiastical legislation and the consistency of high principle. Viewed, however, as indicative of that new phase of Broad Churchism upon which Pan-Anglicanism is entering, the document is not without interest to those who are solicitous for the spiritual future of the English race. For this reason alone we shall return to this pamphlet in our next number.

A Sermon, preached at the Conclusion of the Lambeth Conference. By WILLIAM BACON STEVENS, D.D., &c., Bishop of Pennsylvania. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

THIS discourse resembles the majority of Protestant sermons formed upon Evangelical models. Such antique specimens of pulpit eloquence have now few attractions, even for Anglicans. The Tractarians and Ritualists have infused into the preachers of the Establishment more life and spirit, both in the composition and delivery of sermons, than were to be found fifty years ago.

The American prelate makes no secret of the fact that the Anglican State Church has no hold on the masses of the people, and that the real danger to which that Church is exposed arises from the hostility of the Dissenting sects, now "drifting away into fragmentary divisions" (p. 7).

The preacher ventures to suggest a remedy for this evil. He proposes the "preaching of the uplifted Christ as a great central and unifying truth" (p. 10).

The various schools of Pan-Anglicanism, and the multitude of sects which have swarmed from it, are supposed to hold and to preach this central truth. Unfortunately each school and each sect preaches it in its own sense. The result is anything but unity.

The American prelate offers yet one more suggestion. He deprecates repressive, restrictive, or punitive legislation. He would supplant the Court of Arches by a more faithful setting forth of Christ (p. 18). We fear that this last remedy will prove as inefficacious as the first, and that in the future, as in the past, the spirit of division will hold its own, both in the Anglican Establishment and in every sect which has come from it.